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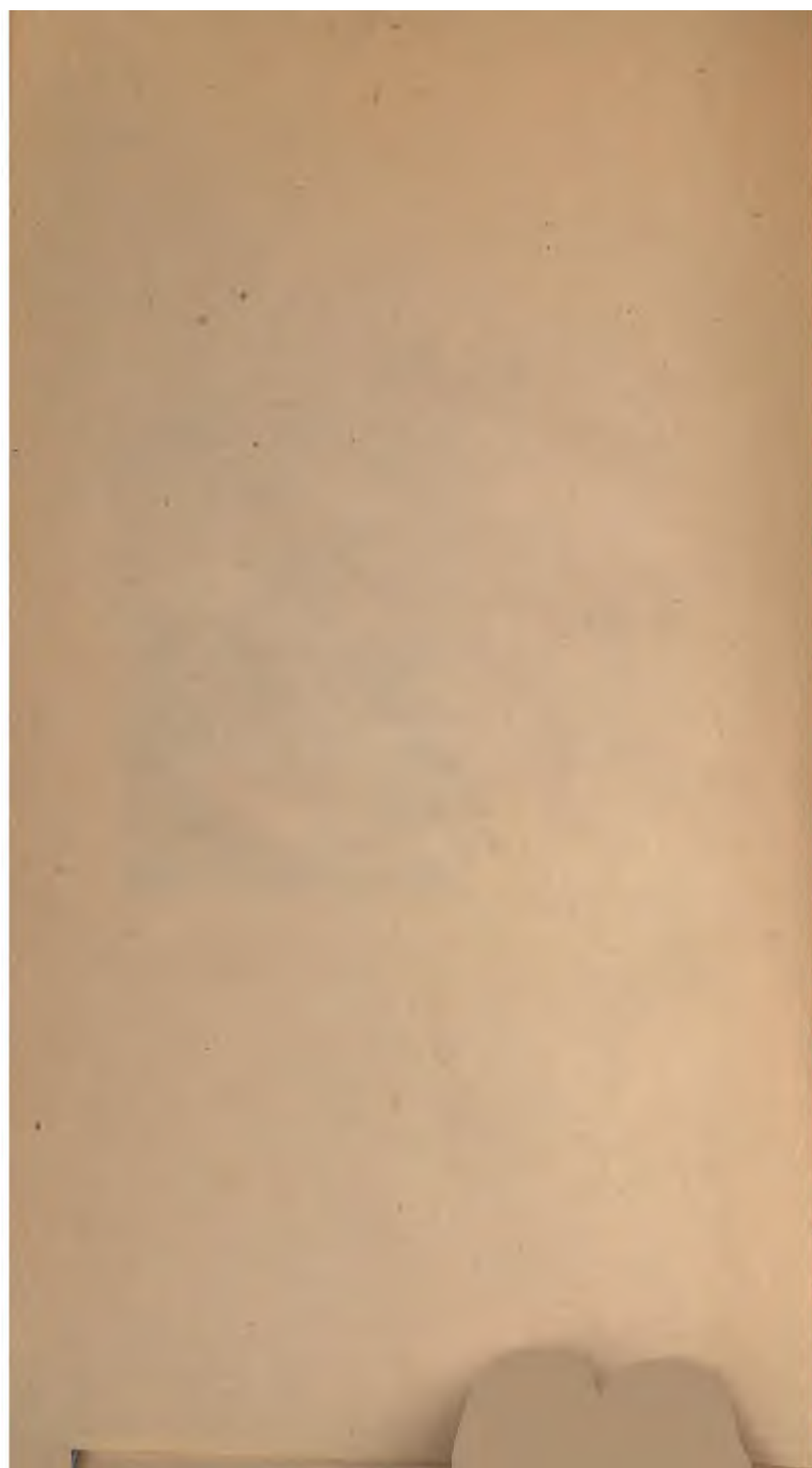
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no. 5







**CHRONICON**  
**RICARDI DIVISIENSIS**  
**DE REBUS GESTIS**  
**RICARDI PRIMI**  
**REGIS ANGLIÆ.**



**M. VAN DE WEYER.**

**Member's Copy.**

*Richard I. King of the Romans*

**CHRONICON**  
**RICARDI DIVISIENSIS**

**DE REBUS GESTIS**

**RICARDI PRIMI**

**REGIS ANGLIÆ.**



**NUNC PRIMUM TYPIS MANDATUM,**

**CURANTE**

**JOSEPHO STEVENSON.**



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## PREFACE TO RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

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§ 1. THE following pages give an account of the affairs of England from the year 1189 until 1192, and of the exploits of King Richard the First, during that time, in the Holy Land. Richard of Devizes,

Of Richard of Devizes, the author of this Chronicle, nothing is known beyond the incidental allusions to himself which occur in the Prologue to the present work. During his residence at Winchester as a monk of the Priory of St. Swithin, he had formed a close intimacy with Robert the Prior of that house; to whom, after his removal to the Charter-House of Witham,<sup>1</sup> our author paid a short visit, in order, as he quaintly expresses himself, to see how much nearer Heaven was the newly founded establishment of the Charter-House, than was Winchester. The circumstances which attended his visit are obscurely hinted at; but we may infer that, in consequence of some disagreement among those monks by whom he was accompanied thither, it was not of long duration. Upon his return to Winchester he composed the following historical work, which he dedicated to his friend the Prior of Witham, as well for the purpose of weaning his affections from the transitory glories of this life, as of presenting him with a memorial of their mutual friendship. his personal history;

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<sup>1</sup> The Carthusian monks were introduced into England by King Henry the Second about the year 1181; and a monastery was founded for them at Witham, or, as it was sometimes called, the Charter-House in Selwood, by that monarch. See Dugd. Monast. vi. 1, edit. Ellis.



when he  
wrote;

§ 2. These facts, taken in connexion with others mentioned in the work, enable us to form some conjecture as to the time when it was written. Robert, Prior of Winchester, was removed from that place to Witham in 1191;<sup>1</sup> consequently this Chronicle was commenced in, or after that year. The tone of the whole composition, and the manner in which King Richard, John Earl of Mortaine, and others are mentioned, lead to the conclusion that it was written before 1199, when John succeeded his brother on the throne of England. It is consequently anterior to the Chronicles of Diceto and Hoveden; and may be considered as one of the earliest and most authentic narratives of the reign of Richard the First.

his merits as  
a writer.

§ 3. Its merits as an historical document are considerable. It records the original observations of an acute contemporary, who may be presumed to have had good authority for the assertions which he advances. His statements are generally corroborated by other early and independent writers of respectability; and his reflections, although sarcastic, are at least candid, and apparently uninfluenced by party spirit. His style, as an historian, is greatly injured by the parade of classical allusions and quotations in which he pedantically indulges himself;<sup>2</sup> and the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his actors are of more than questionable authenticity. But it may be safely asserted that, viewed either as an historian or as a writer, the publication of his Chronicle forms a valuable addition to our early national literature.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury, the present Chronicle con-

tains the greatest number of classical allusions of any production of the Middle Ages with which the Editor is acquainted.

§ 4. Of this work only two manuscripts are known to exist, both of which have been employed in forming the text of the present edition. These are not only of equal antiquity and authority, being contemporary with the composition of the work, but closely resemble each other in handwriting, size, arrangement,<sup>1</sup> and other minute particulars. There seems reason to believe that the former of these has been transcribed from the latter, or that both have been taken from one common original.<sup>2</sup> The Cottonian Manuscript<sup>3</sup> has been adopted as the groundwork of the present edition; and its errors, by no means numerous, have been corrected by the other copy, which formerly belonged to Archbishop Parker, and is now deposited in the Library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge.<sup>4</sup>

Manuscript  
copies.

§ 5. Besides the work here printed, Bale and Pits, followed by later bibliographers, ascribe to Richard of Devizes a General Chronicle of English affairs, extending from the time of Brute to the reign of Stephen.<sup>5</sup> Having inspected the

General  
Chronicle  
ascribed to  
this author.

<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the text is peculiar. On each manuscript a considerable portion of it is written upon a very wide margin which has been left for the purpose; hence many of the paragraphs do not occur in their proper chronological order, or in their connexion with the context.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist of the Cottonian MS. (see Note at p. 36 of this Edition,) has remarked that there was an erasure in the original from which he copied: and as such an erasure occurs in the copy formerly belonging to Parker, the inference is, that it is the prototype.

<sup>3</sup> Domitian XIII; a volume in small quarto, upon vellum, clearly and elegantly written, and

abounding in contractions. Its various readings are marked C.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly marked O 13, but now designated cccxxxix. Its margins have suffered by the knife of a careless binder, but the portions of text which have been removed, are supplied by Josceline, Archbishop Parker's Secretary.

<sup>5</sup> A memorandum at the end of this Chronicle (fol. 24, b.) states that there was another copy "usque ad A.D. 1245 apud Thomam Knyght, bibliopolam;" and a note appended to a copy of the Chronicle of Peter de Icham in the Bodleian Library (Laud. 61) refers to a third manuscript.

copy of this work, which is preserved in the Corpus Manuscript cccxxxix, the Editor is unable to conjecture upon what grounds it is ascribed to Richard of Devizes, from whose history of Richard the First it differs materially in style and arrangement. The name of the author, who appears to have been a monk of Winchester, had been expressed in a marginal note, now unfortunately mutilated by the binder; what remains shows that the work was dedicated to one Master Adam. An anonymous monk of Winchester, who wrote a history of that see, embodied a considerable portion of this General Chronicle in his "*Breviarium Chronicorum*,"<sup>1</sup> without affording any information as to its origin.<sup>2</sup>

It only remains for the Editor to express his thanks to the Reverend John Lamb, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for permission to collate the manuscript copy of Richard's Chronicle now deposited in the valuable Library belonging to that College.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Wharton's *Angl. Sacr.* i. 288.

<sup>2</sup> '*Britannia Major insula est ad septentrionem sita in oceano, circumquaque inaccessibilis nisi navigio. Hæc, olim Albion dicta, a solis inhabitata gigantibus fuit post Diluvium annis mille ducentis; qui, qualiter, et unde illuc venerint, non probatur usque in præsentem diem. In hanc, divino doctus oraculo, devenit quidam Tirannus origine Brutus, filius Silvii, filii Aschanii, filii Æneæ, ducens secum reliquias Tirannorum a Græcorum servitute ereptas, cum uxoribus et li-*

*beris et tota suppellectile; et deletis gigantibus, primus hominum post gigantes possedit insulam, et ibi habitavit; sociosque suos, qui prius vocabantur Tiranni, de nomine suo nominavit Britones, et insulam appellavit Britanniam.'*

The mutilated passage before alluded to as containing the name of the author, is as follows:

... agistro Ade, suus de ...  
 . . . . . Meo malo miram mu . . .  
 . . . . . temporibus accidit ut etiam  
 si . . . . . placeant sapientibus.

Opposite to this, in the margin, is the date M.cc.j.

## PROLOGUS.

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§ 1. VENERABILI patri et semper domino ROBERTO,  
olim priori Wintoniensis ecclesiæ, suus RICARDUS  
dictus DIVISIENSIS, si bonum est quod inchoavit,  
5 in eo perseverare.

Postquam bono omine de nostra Wintoniensi  
ecclesia Cartusiam profectus es, multum et sæpe  
desideravi subsequi sic profectum, tecum forte  
remansurus, certo autem visurus quid ageres,  
10 qualiter viveres, quanto cella Cartusiæ celsior sit  
et coelo vicinior claustro Wintoniæ. Voluit Deus  
tandem voto meo satisfacere; veni, et utinam  
solus venissem. Fui ibi, me tertio, fueruntque qui  
mecum venerant mihi causa recessus. Meum  
15 illis velle displicuit, fervoremque, non dicam er-  
rorem, frigere mihi fecerunt. Vidi apud vos quod  
alibi non videram, quod non credideram, quod  
minus mirari poteram quam deceret. In qualibet  
cellarum vestrarum est unum ostium ex instituto,  
20 quod vobis aperire licet ad placitum, sed per illud  
exire non licet, nisi tantum ita ut unus pedum  
citra limen in cella semper remaneat. Egrediatur

uno pede quo voluerit frater, altero remanente in cella. Magnum et profundum sacramentum debere ostium habere quod pateat, per quod intrare vel exire non liceat. Miror et aliud; omnibus bonis temporalibus abundantes, tanquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes, omnibus misericordiores hominibus et humaniores, plenissimam ad vos invicem caritatem habentes, caritatis affectum dimidiatis ad advenas, benedicite sine præbenda dantes hospitibus. Miror et tertium; viri viventes vobis extra seculum secreto ac singulariter, omnes res gestas in seculo scitis ut fiunt, et quandoque præscitis antequam fiant. Nec id ad injuriam taciturnitatis vestræ, plusquam Pythagoricæ, me dixisse credideris, cum tantæ gravitatis viros, tam arduæ professionis, præsumere audeam prophetare potius deliramenta mundi quam fabulari.

§ 2. Verumtamen etsi omnia sciens Deus vobiscum sit, ut putatur, et in vobis et in Illo sciatis omnia, non ab homine neque per hominem, voluisti, ut aiebas, ut exercitium meum tibi fieret solatio, quatenus meta novæ morphoseos, quam mundus movit mutans quadrata rotundis, maxime post transmigrationem vestram ad cælum celatum, tibi Chronica scriberem, ut mundus tibi, amplius præ oculis habita ejus mobilitate, vilesceret, et amati memoriam nota tibi litera representaret. O me felicem! si sancta illa anima, si angelus Domini, si deificatus homo et jam de numero deorum factus, coram magno Deo mei vix hominis meminisse dignetur. Feci quod petieras,

facito quod promisisti. Et ut libellus alicujus  
momenti habeat initium, a condicto paulisper  
altius inchoavi, operisque mihi limes est Œdipodæ  
confusa domus, quam tamen quia me posse evol-  
5 vere totam sperare non audeo, posteriorem ejus  
partem aggredior. Cur, et quomodo, et quando,  
pater filium coronaverit; quanta et qualia inde  
pervenerint; qui, et quotiens, et quot terras  
turbaverint; quo quique fine defecerint, reliqui  
10 majora parturientibus: solis meus sermo servit  
superstitibus.



## RICARDUS DIVISIENSIS

### DE REBUS GESTIS RICARDI PRIMI.

ANNO DOMINI M.C.LXXXIX.

§ 3. ANNO igitur ab incarnatione Domini mil- A.D. 1189.  
5 lesimo centesimo octogesimo nono, Ricardus ex Richard's co-  
Alienor filius regis Henrici secundi, frater regis ronation.  
Henrici tertii, consecratus est in regem Anglorum  
a Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, apud West-  
monasterium, tertio nonas Septembris. [3 Sept.]  
10 Eodem coronationis die, circa illam sollemnitatis  
horam qua Filius immolabatur Patri, incœptum  
est in civitate Londoniæ immolare Judæos patri  
suo diabolo; tantaque fuit hujus celebris mora  
mysterii, ut vix altera die compleri potuerit holo-  
15 caustum. Æmulatæ sunt aliæ civitates regionis  
et urbes fidem Londoniensium, et pari devotione  
suos sanguisugas cum sanguine transmiserunt ad  
infernus. Aliquid, sed inæqualiter, ea tempes-  
tate contra perditos paratum est ubique per reg-  
20 num, sola tantum suis vermibus pepercit Win-  
tonia, populus prudens et providus ac civitas  
semper civiliter agens. Nihil unquam egit præ-  
propere, nihil plus metuens quam poenitere, rerum  
exitus æstimat ante principia. Noluit indige-

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#### NOTES AND VARIOUS READINGS.

<sup>6</sup> *Regis Henrici tertii.*] Henry, in the early Chronicles and con-  
son of King Henry the Second, is temporaneous State Papers. He  
frequently styled Henry the Third died in 1183.



A.D. 1189. riem qua premebatur imparata, periculo sui, per partes violenter evomere, cavitque visceribus, dissimulans interim modeste molestiam, donec opportuno medendi tempore totam liceat sibi morbi materiam simul et semel egerere. 5

§ 4. Non sine mussitatione multorum et admiratione visus est vespertilio die medio et sereno per Monasterium volitare; easdem inopportune auras et maxime circa solium regis circinans.

§ 5. Willelmus de Longo Campo, qui et ante 10 coronam comitis Pictavorum fuerat cancellarius, comite in regem coronato, quanto regnum potius est comitatu, tanto sensit ministerium suum in melius profecisse.

§ 6. Res accidit ipsa die coronationis in West- 15 monasterio; res, ut tunc vix ore dimidio dici licuit, nonnullius portenti prænuncia. Ad Completorium, novissimam horam diei, primum signum in ipsa die pulsari contigit, nec aliquo ex conventu, nec ipsis ministris ecclesiæ, nisi post 20 cæsum, id advertentibus; cum Primæ, Tertię, Sextæ, Nonæ, Vesperarum et duarum Missarum solenne servitium, sine omni signorum pulsatione fuerit celebratum.

Fines levied  
on Stephen  
de Marzai,

§ 7. Stephanus de Marzai, senescallus Ande- 25 gaviæ sub rege nuper defuncto, ille magnus et potens, singulariter ferus et dominus domini sui, captus et conjectus in vincula, Wintoniam usque pertrahitur, ubi spectaculum factus angelis et hominibus, miserabili maceratus inedia, ferri in- 30 fractus pondere, ad triginta millia librarum monetæ Andegavensis solutionem et quindecim millia librarum promissionem, pro redemptione coac-

<sup>3</sup> *Modeste.*] Vel physice, added as a gloss in the Cambridge MS. <sup>25</sup> *Stephanus de Marzai.*] Called Stephen de Turonis by Hoveden and Benedictus Abbas.

<sup>13</sup> *Sensit.*] Sumsit, C.

tus est. Ranulfus de Glanvilla, regni Anglorum A.D. 1189.  
 rector et regis oculus, vir Stephano non inferior and Ralph de Glanville.  
 nisi moribus et divitiis, depotestatus et custodiæ  
 traditus, ire saltem sibi liberum et redire redemit  
 5 quindecim mille libris argenti. Et cum hoc no-  
 men Glanvilla tanti fuisset die præterito, nomen  
 scilicet super omne nomen, ut quisque, cui con-  
 cessum esset a Domino, loqueretur inter principes  
 et adoraretur a populo, proximo mane non su-  
 10 perfuit unus in terra qui vocaretur hoc nomine.  
 Nocuit duobus istis, scilicet Stephano et Radulfo,  
 quod et nocuisse certum est mille prioribus, quod  
 etiam aliis nocere poterit in posterum, suspecta  
 scilicet de prioris domini familiaritate præ-  
 15 suntio.

§ 8. Johannes frater regis, qui solus ex filiis  
 matris suæ reginæ Alienor fratri supererat, præter  
 comitatum de Moretonio, quem dono patris pridem  
 perceperat, in tantum a fratre ditatus est et dila-  
 20 tatus in Anglia, quod et privatim et publice præ-  
 dicabatur a pluribus regem de reditu in regnum  
 non cogitare, quem frater jam eo non impoten-  
 tior, si innatos sibi mores non reprimat, aude-  
 bit actus dominandi libidine repulsum exturbare  
 25 de regno.

§ 9. Regem Ricardum agendæ suæ peregrina-  
 tionis tempus urgebat, cum nollet novissimus  
 in profectione fieri, qui in susceptione crucis om-

Richard  
 raises funds  
 for the Cru-  
 sade;

<sup>19</sup> *A fratre ditatus est.*] Independently of the possessions in Ireland and the earldom of Mortain in Normandy, with which he had been endowed by the liberality of his father, John was possessed of about one-third of the kingdom of England. The counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, Lancas-  
 ter, and Devonshire, the honors of Wallingford, Tykhull, and Eye, the castles of Pec, Bolsover, Lutter, and Marlborough, with their appendages, were bestowed upon him by Richard; and his marriage with the daughter and heiress of the late earl of Gloucester brought him the immense possessions of that family.

A.D. 1189. nium Cisalpinorum principum primus exstiterat. Rex regis nomine dignus, qui primo regni sui anno regnum Angliæ pro Christo non secus fere reliquit quam si non rediturus abiret. Tanta fuit viri devotio, tam subito, tam cito et celeriter ad 5 ulciscendas Christi cucurrit, immo volavit, injurias. Regni tamen consilio aliquantulum, dum res major in mente patiebatur, indulgens, accepta a summo Pontifice potestate, ut cuicumque vellet de suis crucem detraheret, suæ reipublicæ ratione 10 regendæ, Hugonem de Pusac, episcopum Dunelmi, in primis toti regno præfecit Justitiarcham et serio, ut putabatur a pluribus; novum insuper de veterano episcopo creans comitem Norumbriæ, exposita sibi quot voluit castrorum custodia, 15 decem millia libras argenti de scriniis ejus diligenter extraxit. Gaufrido filio Petri et Willelmo Briwere et Hugone Bardulfi, detracta sibi cruce, domi sedere permissis, regis ærarius totas trium collectas tres illas nuces transfudit in fiscum. 20 Omnes vicecomites regni levi accusatione regis merentes offensam, malefica potestate privati, vix inæstimabili mediante pecunia, faciem ejus videre permissi sunt. Ranulfus de Glanwilla, quo nullus fuerat suo tempore disertior dum præpotuit, pri- 25 vatus jam factus ex principe, in tantum hebit præ dolore, ut gener ejus Radulfus de Ardenna ejusdem oris ratione deperderet quicquid oris ejus judicio fuerat consecutus. Is etiam, quia vetulus erat impatiensque laboris, si illud aliquid quod, 30 fini facto, supererat, regi dare voluisset in benedictionem, remitti sibi difficultatem peregrinationis facile meruisset. De regulis Walensium et

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<sup>1</sup> *Primus exstiterat.*] This statement is supported by Vinesauf, ch. xvii, Diceto and Gervase of Canterbury ad an. 1187, and Neubr. iv. 5.

Scottorum rex cautionem recepit quod, dum peregrinaretur, ad læsionem Angliæ, terminos suos non excederent. A.D.1189.

- § 10. Godefridus filius memorandi Ricardi  
 5 illius de Luci, Ricardus Thesaurarius, Hubertus  
 Walteri, Willelmus de Longo Campo, quatuor  
 viri non minimæ virtutis aut laudis ultimæ, ad  
 quatuor vacantes sedes, scilicet, Wintoniensem,  
 Londoniensem, Saresbiriensem, Eliensem, electi  
 10 sunt apud Pippewelle; singuli satis canonice, et  
 maxime Wintoniensis, qui primus, hoc est decimo  
 septimo kalendas Octobris [Sept. 15] nomen ini-  
 tiatorium dignitatis obtinuit, cum trium electio  
 dilata fuerit in crastinum, consentiente rege et  
 15 confirmante archiepiscopo quod factum fuerat,  
 quamvis in primis aliquid aliter maluisset. Circa  
 quod mirum accidit, ut is ipsa die fato fungeretur  
 qui, agente archiepiscopo, ad unam sedium fuerat  
 nominatus. Willelmus Eliensis electus, datis  
 20 tribus millibus libris argenti, sigillum regis sibi  
 retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium  
 superobtulerit. Wintoniensis et Saresbiriensis  
 electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino, archiepiscopo  
 Cantuariæ, apud Westmonasterium, undecimo  
 25 kalendas Novembris [Oct. 22]. Ipso die Hugo  
 de Nonante, episcopus Coventrensis, querelam  
 deposuit coram archipræsule et episcopis ad ordi-  
 nationem electorum convocatis, super monachis  
 suis de Coventre, quod manus in eum violentas  
 30 injecerant, et sanguinem suum fuderant coram  
 altari. Maximam etiam partem congregationis  
 ante querelam expulerat de ecclesia, nec ab im-  
 probitate quievit donec omnium episcoporum

Consecrates  
bishops.

<sup>28</sup> *Super monachis suis de Co-* | these proceedings may be seen in  
*ventre.*] The cause and result of | Dugd. Monast. iii. 179.



A.D.1189. apices ad summum Pontificem in attestationes contra monachos impetravit.

Richard  
raises  
money.

§ 11. Godefridus, Wintoniensis episcopus, suæ memor professionis, sublatas ecclesiæ suæ possessiones revocare contendens, cum in duobus 5 maneriis suis, scilicet, Meones et Weregrava, contra Wintoniæ ecclesiam nemo jus reclamationis haberet, recepit ea ordine judiciario, datis regi secretius tribus millibus librarum argenti. Nec oblitus est vir circumspectus pro thesauri 10 ecclesiæ indemnitate, pro patrimonio suo, pro comitatu Hamtesire, pro custodia castrorum Wintoniæ et Porecestriæ, una manu cum rege finem facere. Et quia reddendæ tantæ pecuniæ tempus instabat, cum diem fixum solutioni sine 15 totius actionis detrimento transgredi non valeret, et vicinius sub cœlo subsidium non invenisset, in thesaurum ecclesiæ suæ manum misit invitus; ad quod etiam restituendum se et posteros suos obligavit, cavens conventui cyrographi sigillati 20 testimonio. Homo tantæ benignitatis et modestiæ, qui nec iratus unquam aliquid in subditos egerit quod non redoleret mansuetudinem. Vere de familia illius et unus ex familiaribus, de quo dicitur, sub quo vivere regnare est. 25

§ 12. Omnes, quibus pecunia sua fuit oneri, rex officiosissime exoneravit, traditis cuilibet ad placitum potestatibus et possessionibus quas eligebant; unde et quandoque sibi familiaribus assistentibus alludens, in hoc prorupit eludium, 'Si 30 invenissem emtorem vendidissem Londoniam.' Poterant hoc verbo, nisi tardius evolasset, plurimi præmuniri, ne juxta proverbium Anglicum sic sapiens disceret mercator fieri, 'emere pro duodecim, et pro uno et semis vendere.'

<sup>8</sup> *Recepit ea.*] *Recepit eam,* | <sup>26</sup> *Quas eligeabant.*] *Quas eligebat,* MS. C.



## ANNO DOMINI M.C.XC.

§ 13. ANNO ab incarnatione Domini millesimo A.D. 1190.  
centesimo nonagesimo, rex transfretavit in Neu-  
5 striam, totius regni cura Cancellario delegata.

Ricardus Londonensis et Willelmus Eliensis  
electi consecrati sunt a Baldewino archiepiscopo,  
apud Westmonasterium, secundo kalendas Ja-  
nuarii [Dec. 31, 1189]. Willelmus de Magna  
10 Villa, comes de Alba Mara, apud Gisortium, in  
majore hemitritæo maniam passus, defunctus est.  
Cujus relictam, feminam fere virum, cui nihil  
virile defuit præter virilia, Willelmus de Fortibus,  
miles millies probatus in armis, cum omni honore  
15 prioris mariti, dono regis Ricardi recepit in con-  
jugem.

§ 14. Willelmus Eliensis episcopus et regis  
Cancellarius, alter naturaliter Jacob, licet non  
luctasset cum angelo, persona spectabilis, brevi-  
20 tatem corporis animo recompensans, de domini  
sui securus amore et de voluntate præsumens,  
quia omnis potestas impatiens consortis fuit, est,  
et erit, Hugonem de Pusac de scaccario propulit;  
et solo sibi gladio, quo manu regis in militem  
25 fuerat accinctus, vix relicto, modico tempore ha-  
bito comitatus honore privavit. Et ne solus suam  
Dunelmensis doleret injuriam, cum nulli parceret  
omni jam bellua tetrior, etiam in Wintoniensem  
pestis impegit. Subtrahitur illi custodia castro-  
30 rum et comitatus, nec etiam de proprio permit-  
titur gaudere patrimonio. Turbatur regnum,  
regemque de inconstantia criminantur offensi.  
Transfretatur ab omnibus ad regem interpellan-

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<sup>4</sup> *Transfretavit.*] He sailed from Christmas at Burun, in Nor-  
Dover for Calais upon 12th De- mandy.  
cember 1189; and passed his

A.D. 1190. dum contra tyrannum, sed primus ille omnium mare transvectus totius actionis suæ et exactionis seriem coram rege brevibus commentatus est; a quo et de omnibus agendis instructus plenissime, adversa æmulorum pro voto vota præpediens, 5 prius erat in reditu quam qui illum impetebant copiam regis habuissent. Regreditur igitur ad Anglos non minus potenter et prospere quam qui omnia quæcunque voluit fecit. Regem reversum a Vasconia, ubi latrunculos armis dejecerat, sub- 10 latis sibi quas occupaverant munitionibus, conveniunt quos Cancellarius læserat, qui singulis ut cuique tunc videbatur satisfaciens, cum quilibus tunc volebant literis remisit omnes ad Cancellarium. Johannes Norwicensis episcopus, et 15 ipse unus ex Salahadino minantibus, ad protectionem et causam munitus plenissime, dum iter ageret in Burgundiæ finibus incidit in latrones, qui et ei omne viaticum sustulerunt; qui, cui nihil supererat facultatis unde procederet, vertit 20 viam versus summum Pontificem, cumque ei sua insinuatione casum esset illacrimatus et inopiam, clementia eum summæ sedis absolutum a voto remisit ad propria.

The Chancellor seizes the bishop of Durham;

§ 15. Wintoniensis episcopus gravi tactus in- 25 comodo trans mare substitit aliquandiu. Dunelmensis festinus pertendit Londonias, sed a baronibus Scaccarii non receptus, festinus præcipitat iter, quasi triumphaturus post Cancellarium, qui tunc temporis in expeditionem profectus erat 30 versus Lincolniam. Quem consecutus salutavit ex parte regis, non simpliciter nec sine ruga, convenitque eum mox cum supercilio de negotiis reipublicæ; ac si sine nutu suo quicquid fieri non liceret. Projecit ampullas et sesquipedalia 35 verba, et dum nimis gloriatus est in non dum potestate recepta, quicquid tacuisse debuerat

nescius cum quo loquebatur effudit. In fine A.D. 1190.  
 verborum clava profertur verba determinans,  
 sacra regis reverenda nimis recitanda monstratur.  
 Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus. Jus-  
 5 sum est ad regis mandatum summum fieri silen-  
 tium; conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.  
 Epistola legitur in publico, quæ plus metuenda  
 foret si nondum lecta fuisset; ad audita callidus  
 ille dolum dissimulare peritus distulit in diem  
 10 septimum respondere, locum colloquii statuens  
 apud Tikehelle. Die nominato Dunelmensis  
 venit ad castrum, suisque jussis præ foribus præ-  
 stolari, satis solus ingreditur ad Cancellarium;  
 qui prius tacuerat prior loquitur, cogitque de-  
 15 ceptum posterius impetratas prioribus contra  
 quicquid speraverat literas proprio ore recitare.  
 Respondere paranti subjecit, 'Pridie, te loquente,  
 fuit mihi tempus tacendi, nunc ut sentias quia, te  
 tacente, loquendi tempus accepi; vivit dominus  
 20 meus rex, non egredieris hinc donec de reddendis  
 mihi castris omnibus quæ tenes dederis obsides,  
 quoniam ego te capio non præsul præsulem, sed  
 Cancellarius Cancellarium.' Non fuit circum-  
 vento constantia resistendi nec facultas; tra-  
 25 duntur obsides, et, dato termino, castra redduntur  
 ad obsidum solutionem. Willelmus Wigorniae  
 episcopus, qui Baldewino proximus successerat,  
 viam universæ carnis ingressus est.

§ 16. Dominus Wintoniensis, demum convales-  
 30 cens in Neustria, volens et ipse sibi sublata recipere,  
 omni qua potuit celeritate regressus invenit Can-  
 cellarium obsidentem castrum Glocestriæ. Cujus  
 adventu cognito, Cancellarius progreditur obvius  
 venienti, complexoque arctius et deosculato, ait,  
 35 'Optato advenisti, carissime! obsidioni instan-

Bosleges  
 Gloucester  
 castle;

<sup>22</sup> *Cancellarius Cancellarium.*] Cancellarius castellanum, *MS. P.*



A.D. 1190. dum est, an desistendum? Cui episcopus, 'Si pacem desideras, arma repone.' Intellexit acer ille ingenio vim verborum, jussitque præcones clamare receptui; episcopo etiam patrimonium suum, illud tantum, sine lite restituit. Reliqui omnes, qui contra Cancellarium transfretaverant, minus profecerunt quam nihilum. Willelmus, apostolicæ sedis Legatus, concilium tenuit apud Westmonasterium, in quo ne nil ageretur quod de se prædicaretur in posterum, omnem religionem de Coventrensi ecclesia eliminandam et clericos præbendarios loco monachorum præjudicavit substituendos.

Appointed  
Papal Le-  
gate.

§ 17. Willelmus, mirabilis Eliensis episcopus, Cancellarius regis, regni Justiciarius, trinomius ille et triceps, ut utraque manu uteretur pro dextra, et gladius Petri gladio subveniret imperatoris, legationem suscepit totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, et Hiberniæ, obtentam a summo pontifice, regis non aliter profecturi instantia, per Reginaldum episcopum Batoniæ. Universa ergo qua voluit sorte beatus, ibat per regnum et revertebatur in similitudinem fulguris coruscantis.

Rex Erebi, vetustissimus ille pyracmon inter ecclesiam Saresbiriæ et monasterium Malmesbiriæ, admoto recenti fomite, scintillam veterem redivivos commovit in ignes. Suscitatur abbas, non jam de professione pontifici facienda, sed de ipso nomine pastoris ponendo simul et baculo. Impetratæ sunt literæ regis ad Cancellarium, quibus abbas ad postulationes episcopi respondere cogeretur in jure. Nec sui oblitus est homo cuius res agitur, quem nullum unquam improvisum

<sup>14</sup> *Willelmus, mirabilis Eliensis episcopus.*] Concerning the profigate character of this prelate, see the testimony of a contemporary, Giraldus Cambrensis, de vita Gaufridi Archiep. Ebor. ii. 19.

potuit invenire periculum, qui nihil novit perdere A.D. 1190.  
 propter ignaviam. Clavum clavo repulit, literis  
 alias infirmantibus a rege donatus. Cancellarius  
 pudenda mandatorum principis contrarietate per-  
 5 specta, ne fama regis facto læderetur si in causa  
 procederet, integram utriusque partis in regis  
 redditum distulit actionem.

§ 18. Rex Ricardus sacramentum exegit a  
 duobus fratribus suis, Johanne uterino et Gau-  
 10 frido non ex legitima, quod Angliam non intra-  
 rent infra triennium peregrinationis suæ, a die  
 profectionis a Turonis triennio computato; ita  
 tamen dispensans matris precibus circa Johannem  
 ut in Angliam per Cancellarium transiens staret  
 15 ejus judicio, et ad placitum illius vel moraretur in  
 regno vel exularet.

Dotarium reginæ Alienor per totas terras regis  
 recognitum est jurejurando et sibi traditum, ut  
 quæ prius de fisco vixerat deinceps viveret de  
 20 proprio.

Classis regis de propriis mota littoribus His-  
 paniam circuit, et de oceano per arcta Africæ  
 Mediterraneum mare, quod ulterius Græcum  
 dicitur, ingressa, ad Massiliam, regem ibi præsto-  
 25 latura, perducitur.

Rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, habito consilio  
 apud Turonis et rursus apud Viceliacum, confir-  
 mato inter sese et regna sua foedere, omnibus  
 hinc inde rebus dispositis ad libitum et ordinatis,  
 30 diversis exercitibus ad invicem digrediuntur;

<sup>9</sup> *Johanne uterino.*] Giraldus states that John actually made oath to this effect, and afterwards boasted to that writer that he had been absolved by the Chancellor from his promise. De Rebus a se Gestis, ii. 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Gaufrido non ex legitima.*]

Geoffrey unwillingly accepted consecration, as it prevented him from claiming the throne of England, which he intended to have done, had Richard not returned from the Holy Land; of this Richard was aware. Vita Gaufr. Archiep. Ebor. i. 6.

A.D.1190. Francus mare nauseans per terram tendit Siciliam, Anglus iturus per aquam venit contra naves suas Massiliam. Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ et Hubertus Walteri episcopus Saresbiriæ, soli ex mitratis totius Angliæ voti compotes, 5 regem sequuntur in Siciliam et præveniunt in terram Juda.

§19. Monachi Cluniacenses non consueverunt de prioratibus et magistratibus suis prece vel pretio se invicem supplantare, et tamen aliquis eorum 10 aliquando aliquid attemtavit ejusmodi, quod et digna vidimus animadversione punitum. Erat quidam vir venerabilis prior Montis Acuti totus ex virtutibus factus, Jocelinus nomine, in quo nihil nisi commendabile cerneret. Ad hunc talem 15 supplantandum venit quidam, cujus non opus est dicere nomen, unus ex suis falsis fratribus, cum literis abbatis Cluniacensis qua poterat arte quæsitis, quibus jubebatur ut prior præsentium latori cederet, et congregatio eum susciperet in 20 prælatum. Prænovit prior per aliquem quid mercis negotiator quærere venerat, unde, non exspectato mandato, sedem vacuavit in capitulo, præsentem conventu, et ait illi, 'Amice, ad quod venisti?' Diu ille moratus, ut quod rapere vene- 25 rat recipere videretur invitus; demum se recepit in sedem, et continuo sibi imprecatus est, dicens, 'O, qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas, cujus in humanis ludit potentia rebus, qui deponis potentes et exaltas humiles, juste judex Jesu 30 Christe, si injuste isthic præsideo cito et manifeste digneris ostendere.' Videte miraculum. Ipsa die loquelam perdidit, altera vitam, tertia terræ traditus experimento didicit et exemplo

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<sup>3</sup> *Massiliam.*] Richard left Mar- upon the 28th arrived at Naples, seilles upon 7th August 1190, and landed at Messina upon September 23rd.

docuit quod non habet eventus sordida præda A.D.1190.  
bonos.

Monachus quidam de Glastonia multis muneri-  
bus Johannem comitem spe promotionis coluit ;  
5 sed dum venire debebat ad capere, tigno quodam  
casu subito sibi in faciem lapso, detritus et omnino  
factus mutilus, ova simul et obolum perdidit.

§ 20. Naves, quas rex in litore jam præsto in-  
venit erant numero centum, et buceæ quatuor-  
10 decim, vasa magnæ capacitatis et miræ agilitatis,  
vasa fortia et integerrima, quorum ornatus et or-  
dinatus hic erat. Prima navium tria gubernacula  
vacantia habuit, tredecim ancoras, triginta remos,  
duo vela, funes omnium generum triplices ; et  
15 præter ista, quibuscunque navis egere potest,  
dupla, præter malum et scapham. Ascribitur  
navis regimini rector unus doctissimus, et qua-  
tuordecim ei vernulæ electi in ministerium sup-  
putantur. Oneratur navis quadraginta equis de  
20 pretio exercitatis ad arma, et omni armorum ge-  
nere totidem equitum, et quadraginta peditum, et  
quindecim navigantium, et victualibus per annum  
integrum tot hominum et equorum. Una erat  
omnium navium dispositio ; singulæ vero buce-  
25 arum ordinatus et oneris duplum receperunt.  
Thesaurus regis, qui erat magnus nimis et in-  
æstimabilis, divisus est per naves et buceas, ut  
si pars una sentiret periculum, reliqua salvaretur.  
Quibus ita dispositis, rex ipse cum familia parva  
30 et majores exercitus cum sibi famulantibus, relicto  
litore, præcedunt classem in galeis, et per civi-  
tates maritimas dietim hospitantes, assumtis  
secum majoribus maris illius navibus ac buceis,  
prosperè Messanam applicuerunt. Tanta erat  
35 applicantium gloria, talis fragor et fulgor armo-  
rum, tantus tubarum strepitus et lituorum, quod  
intremuit civitas et expavit, venitque contra regem

Description  
of Richard's  
fleet.

He arrives at  
Messina,  
Sept. 23.

A.D. 1190. omnis ætas, populus sine numero, mirantes et prædicantes quanto rex iste gloriosius et terribilius applicuerat rege Franciæ, qui eum cum copiis suis prævenerat die septimo. Metatusque est rex Angliæ castra extra civitatem, quoniam 5 rex Franciæ receptus jam fuerat in palatium Tancredi regis Siciliæ intra muros. Ipso die rex Franciæ, cognito sodalis sui et fratris adventu, volat in ejus occursum, nec potuit inter amplexus et oscula gesticulatio satis exprimere quantum 10 eorum uterque gauderet ex altero. Reficiuntur exercitus mutuis applausibus et colloquiis, non aliter quam si tot millibus hominum esset cor unum et anima una. In deliciis talibus expenditur dies feriatas in vesperum, et regibus lassatis, 15 non dum satiatis, digredientibus, singuli suas revertuntur in partes. Rex Angliæ mox die crastino erigi fecit patibula extra castra, ad suspendendos in eis latrunculos et prædones. Non parcebant iudices delegati sexui vel ætati, parque 20 fuit advenæ et indigenæ rei lex et supplicium. Rex Franciæ quicquid sui peccarent vel peccaretur in suos, dissimulavit et tacuit; rex Angliæ, pro indifferenti habens cujates crimen involveret, omnem hominem suum reputans, nihil injuriarum 25 reliquit inultum; unde et unus dictus est Agnus a Griffonibus, alter Leonis nomen accepit.

His proceed-  
ings there;

He is insult-  
ed by Tan-  
cred,

§ 21. Rex Angliæ misit legatos suos ad regem Siciliæ, exigens Johannam sororem suam reginam quondam Siciliæ, et dotarium ejus, cum ca- 30 thedra aurea, et totum legatum Willelmi regis, quod legaverat Henrico regi patri suo, scilicet,

<sup>4</sup> *Die septimo.*] Upon Sept. 16. Richard arrived Sept. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Legatum Willelmi regis.*] Johanna, daughter of Henry the Second, king of England, married William the Second, king of

Sicily; upon whose death without issue, 16 November 1189, the crown passed to Tancred, son of Roger duke of Apulia, and grandson of Roger the Second, king of Sicily, who died in the year 1154.

mensam auream duodecim pedum in longum, ten- A.D. 1190.  
 torium sericum, centum galeas optimas cum om-  
 nibus sibi ad duos annos necessariis, sexaginta  
 millia silinas de frumento, sexaginta millia de or-  
 5 deo, sexaginta millia de vino, viginti et quatuor  
 cuppas aureas, et viginti et quatuor discos aureos.  
 Rex Siciliae, mandata regis Anglorum parvo pon-  
 derans et de exigentiis minus cogitans, sororem  
 remisit illi cum thalami ejus simplice suppellectili,  
 10 datis tamen illi dignatione regia mille millibus  
 Terrinorum ad expensas. Sequenti die tertio,  
 rex Angliae, transmisso flumine magno del Far,  
 quod a Sicilia Calabriam separat, armatus venit  
 Calabriam, et cepit in ea oppidum munitissimum  
 15 quod dicitur la Banniere, ejectisque Griffonibus,  
 posuit ibi sororem suam, et locum milite munivit  
 armato. Rursus rex cepit castellum fortissimum  
 quod dicitur Monasterium Griffonum, in ipso flu-  
 mine del Far, situm inter la Banniere et Messa-  
 20 nam, captumque firmavit; confectosque sine mi-  
 seratione calamitatibus variis Griffones, qui re-  
 stiterant, suis fieri fecit ludibrio. Wido rex Hie-  
 rosolymorum mandavit Philippo regi Francorum  
 et Ricardo regi Anglorum, hiemantibus in Sicilia,  
 25 quod residui Christianorum, qui ante Acras excu-  
 babant, propter sui impotentiam et paganorum  
 violentiam, nisi subveniatur celerius, aut fugere  
 haberent, aut occumbere. Ad quorum praesidium  
 reges praemiserunt Henricum comitem Campaniae,  
 30 et Baldewinum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ, et Hu-  
 bertum episcopum Saresburiae, et Ranulfum de  
 Glanvilla, cum exercitu valido; ex quibus Balde-  
 winus archiepiscopus et Ranulfus de Glanvilla

<sup>11</sup> *Die tertio.*] Namely, upon ther in Apulia, Sicily, Crete, or  
 Sept. 30. elsewhere; it appears to have been

<sup>15</sup> *Ejectisque Griffonibus.*] The a name of contempt invented by  
 term Griffones included the Greek the Franks.  
 population, wherever settled, whe-

A.D. 1190. obierunt in obsidione civitatis, quam Latini Acras, Judæi Accaron dicunt, dum adhuc reges in Sicilia morarentur.

and the  
Greek inha-  
bitants of  
Sicily :

§ 22. Griffones ante regis Ricardi adventum in Siciliam omnibus regionis illius potentibus fortiores, cum et Ultramontanos semper oderint, novis jam irritati casibus amplius incanduerunt, universisque, qui regem Franciæ dominum fatebantur, pace servata, tota injuriarum de rege Anglorum et caudatis suis ultio quæritur; Græculi enim et Siculi omnes hunc regem sequentes Anglos et caudatos nominabant. Denegatur igitur Anglis ex edicto omnis terræ negotiatio, cæduntur diebus et noctibus per quadragenos et quinquagenos, ubicunque reperiuntur inermes. Cædes multiplicatur in dies, eoque usque meditatatum est in insanja procedere, donec singulos aut funderent, aut fugarent. Hisce tumultibus excitatus rex Angliæ, leo ille teterrimus, horrendum rugiit, iras tanto pectore dignas concipiens. Perterruit ejus amicissimos furor insanientis, curia conterritur, sedent circa solium nominati principes exercitus, quilibet in ordine suo, foretque facillimum legere præsentis in vultu quicquid tacitus mente tractabat, si quis in ejus faciem oculos auderet attollere. Post diutinum summumque silentium, rex indignantia talibus ora resolvit.

His speech ;

§ 23. ' O mei milites ! O regni mei robora et corona ! vos mille mecum pericula passi, vos, qui viribus tot mihi tyrannos domuistis et civitates,

<sup>12</sup> *Caudatos.*] It was a standing jest against the English, even as late as the reign of Edward the Third, to accuse them of having tails; which probably had its origin in the legend where Augustine is described as thus punishing

the men of Kent. See Fordun, iii. 33.

<sup>20</sup> *Vos mille mecum pericula passi.*] In the Cambridge MS. the words 'in Aquitania,' are added as a gloss.

videtis quod vulgus ignavum jam nobis insultat? A.D.1190.  
 Expugnabimus nos Turcos et Arabes, erimus nos  
 terrori gentibus invictissimis, faciet nobis viam  
 dextra nostra usque ad terræ terminos post cru-  
 5 cem Christi, restituemus nos regnum Israel, qui  
 vilibus et effeminatis Griffonibus terga dederimus?  
 Nos hic in patriæ nostræ devicti confinio tende-  
 mus ulterius, ut ex Anglorum inertia in finibus  
 orbis fabula fiat? Estne, mei, mihi justa satis  
 10 nova causa doloris? Videre quidem me videor  
 vos ex deliberatione viribus parcere, ut olim cum  
 Salahadino forte fortius configatis. Ego dominus  
 et rex vester vos diligo, ego de decore vestro soli-  
 citor, ego dico vobis, ego prædico frequentius, si  
 15 modo sic abeatis inulti, præcedet vos et comita-  
 bitur hujus vilis fama diffugii. Erigentur contra  
 vos anus et parvuli, singulisque hostium in fugi-  
 tivos vires duplices audacia ministrabit. Scio  
 quem invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti;  
 20 neminem rex retinebit invitum, nolo cuiquam  
 vestrum mecum morandi vim facere, ne pavor  
 unius in certamine confidentiam frangat alterius.  
 Quisque sequetur quod elegerit, sed ego aut hic  
 moriar, aut meas communes vobis ulciscar inju-  
 25 rias. Si vivus hinc iero, non videbit me Salaha-  
 dinus nisi victorem; vos fugietis, et me regem  
 vestrum relictum opponetis solum discrimini.'

§ 24. Rex orationem vix bene finierat et infre- Its effect.  
 muerunt omnes viri fortes et virtutis, eo turbati  
 30 tantummodo quod dominus suus de suis vide-  
 batur diffidere. Promittunt se ex animo ad quic-  
 quid præceperit parituros, montes et muros æreos  
 penetrare parati. Ponat supercilium: tota sibi, si  
 jusserit, sudore suo Sicilia subjicietur; totus, si  
 35 voluerit, usque ad Columnas Herculis, ibit in  
 sanguine. Substitit ut clamor pressus gravitate His plans  
against Mes-  
sina  
 regentis, 'Placet,' inquit, 'quod audio, reficitis



A.D. 1190. viscera mea, qui pudorem vestram propulsare paratis. Et, quia semper nocuit differre paratis, mora tollenda est, ut sit subitum quodcumque paramus. Messana mihi capietur in primis, Grifones aut se redimant, aut vendantur. Si rex 5 Tancredus de dotario sororis meæ et legato Willelmi regis, quod me pro patre contingit, celerius non satisfecerit, post depopulationem regni sui singula reddere compelletur in quadruplum. Occupantis erit quicquid cuique venietur in præda, 10 soli domino meo regi Francorum, qui in civitate quiescit, et omnibus suis, servetur summa tranquillitas. Expediantur infra biduum ad duo millia equitum ex universo exercitu electorum, qui non habeant corda in caligis, et mille pedites sagittarii. Sit lex servata sine remedio: pedes, pleno pede fugiens, pedem perdat; miles privetur cingulo. Militari disciplina discreto ordine singuli disponantur in acies, et die tertio ad clangorem buccinæ me primum et prævium sequantur ad civitatem. Cum summis applausibus solvitur concio; rex, vultus rigore remisso, visus est voluntati eorum ipsa oris serenitate gratias agere.

delayed by  
an embassy.

§ 25. Mirum intercidit ut causam regis nec hostis ejus causari posset injustam. Die tertio [Oct. 4] 25 quo producendus erat exercitus, summo mane, Ricardus archiepiscopus Messanæ, archiepiscopus de Monte Regali, archiepiscopus de Risa, Margaritus Admiralis, Jordanus de Pin, et plures alii de familiaribus Tancredi regis, assumtis secum 30 Philippo rege Francorum, episcopo Carnoti, duce Burgundiæ, comitibus de Neverso et de Pertico, et multis sequacibus regis Franciæ, item, Rothomagensi et Auxiensis archiepiscopis, Ebroicensi et

<sup>28</sup> *Margaritus Admiralis.*] In both copies it is incorrectly written 'Admirabilis'; the alteration has been made upon a comparison with Benedictus Abbas and Hoveden, ad ann.

Bairnocensi episcopis, et omnibus qui quic- A.D.1190.  
quam posse putabantur ex Anglis, venerunt reve-  
renter ad regem Angliæ, ut sibi de omnibus que-  
relis ad libitum suum facerent satisfieri. Rex diu  
5 multumque rogatus ad tantorum virorum instan-  
tiam flectitur, et super ipsos precatores pacis  
ponit iudicium. Pensent quanti sit quod pertu-  
lerit, et provideant ne minus ponderet pacata  
quam peccatum. Satis erit sibi quicquid sufficere  
10 deliberatio communis debere decreverit, si tamen  
ab ejusdem horæ momento nemo Griffonum in  
suos manus mittat. Multum mirati sunt magis  
quam lætati ad insperatæ responsa mansuetudinis  
qui advenerant, quod novissimo illi proposuerat  
15 ponentes in manum, de reliquo tractaturi seorsum  
concederunt, a conspectu regis remoti.

§ 26. Regis exercitus prædictum pridie taxatus Messina be-  
sieged by  
Richard,  
in numerum cum gravi taciturnitate præstolabatur  
in armis extra castra preconem, ab orto jam sole,  
20 et formatores pacis morosius agentes in horam  
plene tertiam diem protraxerant, cum ecce! sub-  
ito et ex improvise clamatur audita nimis voce  
præ foribus, 'Arma, arma, viri! Hugo Brunus  
captus cæditur a Griffonibus, quicquid habet  
25 diripitur, et homines ejus occiduntur.' Confudit  
clamor pacis infractæ de pace tractantes, et rex  
Franciæ talem prorupit in vocem, 'Perpendo  
quod Deus odit hos homines et induravit cor  
eorum, ut cadant in manus cruciatoris;' reversus-  
30 que celeriter cum omnibus, qui secum fuerant, in  
regis papilionem, invenit eum jam ferro se vesti-  
entem, cui brevibus inquit, 'Testis ero coram om-  
nibus hominibus quicquid acciderit, quod inculpa-  
bilis eris, si amodo contra maledictos Griffones  
35 arma portaveris.' Dixerat et discedit, sequuntur  
eum qui secum venerant, et recipiuntur pariter in  
civitatem. Rex Angliæ procedit armatus, vexil-

A.D. 1190. lum draconis terribile præfertur expansum, clangor tubæ post regem movet exercitum. Refulsit sol in clipeos aureos et resplenduerunt montes ab eis; ibant caute et ordinate, et sine ludo res agebatur. Griffones, e diverso, clausis januis civitatis, armati stabant ad propugnacula murorum et turrium nihil adhuc metuentes, et ejaculabantur incessanter in hostes. Rex, qui nihil melius novit quam expugnare civitates et evertere castra, permisit primo pharetras eorum evacuari, et sic 10 demum per suos sagittarios, qui præbant exercitum, primum fecit insultum. Sagittarum imbre coelum tegitur, protensos per propugnacula clipeos mille tela transfodiunt, nihil contra pilorum impetum poterat salvare rebelles. Relinquuntur 15 muri sine custodia, quia nullus potuit foris prospicere quin in ictu oculi sagittam haberet in oculo.

and captured.

§ 27. Accedit interim rex cum milite suo sine repulsa libere acsi licenter ad januas civitatis, quas, 20 admoto ariete, dicto citius contrivit, et, inducto exercitu, omnia cepit munita urbis usque ad palatium Tancredi et hospitia Francorum circa sui regis hospitium, quibus pepercit ob reverentiam domini sui regis. Ponuntur vexilla victorum super 25 turres civitatis in gyrum, et deditas munitiones singulas singulis tradidit ex principibus exercitus, et hospitari fecit magnates suos in civitate. Suscepit obsides filios omnium nobilium civitatis et provinciæ, ut aut redimantur ad regis æstimationem, 30 aut reliqua pars civitatis illi sine Marte redatur, et a rege suo Tancredo de exigentiis suis sibi satisfaciatur. Hora diei quinta oppugnare cœperit urbem, et cepit eam hora decima; et, revocato exercitu, reversus est victor in castra. 35 Tancredus rex ad nunciantium sibi rerum exitus verba perterritus festinavit cum eo finem facere,

missis illi viginti millibus unciarum auri pro do- A.D.1190.  
tario sororis, et aliis viginti millibus unciarum  
auri pro legato Willelmi regis et perpetua sibi et  
suis pace servanda. Suscipitur satis ægre et in-  
5 dignanter illud parum pecuniæ, redduntur obsi-  
des, et ab utriusque partis optimatibus pax firma  
juratur.

§ 28. Rex Angliæ, minus adhuc credens indigenis,  
fecit castellum ligneum novum magnæ fortitudinis  
10 et eminentiæ juxta muros Messanæ, quod, ad op-  
probrium Griffonum, 'Mategrifun' nominavit.  
Glorificata est fortitudo regis valde, et siluit terra  
in conspectu ejus. Walterus ex monacho et  
priori Sancti Swithini Wintoniensis ecclesiæ abbas  
15 factus Westmonasterii, opetiit, quinto kalendas  
Octobris. [Sept. 27.]

§ 29. Regina Alienor, femina incomparabilis, Queen Elia-  
nor arrives  
in Sicily.  
pulchra et pudica, potens et modesta, humilis et  
diserta, quod in femina solet inveniri rarissime,  
20 quæ non minus annosa quam quæ duos reges  
maritos habuerat et duos reges filios, adhuc ad  
omnes indefessa labores, posse cujus ætas sua  
mirari potuit, assumpta secum filia regis Navaro-  
rum, puella prudentiore quam pulchra, secuta est  
25 regem filium suum, et consecuta morantem adhuc  
in Sicilia, venit Risam civitatem omni bono plenam  
et bonam receptui, præstolatura ibi velle  
regis, cum legatis regis Navarorum et virgine.  
Multi noverunt quod utinam nemo nostrum nos-  
30 set. Hæc ipsa regina tempore prioris mariti fuit  
Hierosolymis. Nemo plus inde loquatur; et ego  
bene novi. Silete.

<sup>15</sup> *Factus.*] Factus est, MSS.

<sup>20</sup> *Duos reges maritos . . filios.*] Elianor was successively the wife of Louis the Seventh of France and Henry the Second of Eng-land; and had seen the corona-

tion of her sons Henry and Richard.

<sup>25</sup> *Multi noverunt.*] In MS. P. the remainder of this paragraph, relative to the conduct of queen Elianor, is surrounded with a border, so as to attract attention.

ANNO DOMINI M.C.XCI.

A.D. 1191. § 30. COLLOQUIUM primum inter comitem de Moretonio, fratrem regis, et Cancellarium, de custodiis quorundam castellorum, et de pecunia comiti a fratre de scaccario concessa, apud Wintoniam ad Lætare Hierusalem. [4 Mar.] 5

Robertus prior Sancti Swithini Wintoniæ, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witham, dolore, (an dicam devotione?) deiecit se in sectam Cartusiæ. 10

Walterus prior Bathoniæ prius ibidem simili fervore vel furore præsumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare.

Richard's  
marriage  
with Philip's  
sister broken  
off.

§ 31. Rex autem, qui dudum juraverat regi Franciæ se sororem ejus accepturum in conjugem, quam pater suus Henricus rex illi providerat et diu valde custodierat, quia suspectam habuit custodiam, meditabatur puellam, quam mater adduxerat, ducere. Et ut desiderium, quo vehementer ardebat, sine difficultate consequeretur, evocatum ad se comitem Flandriæ consuluit, hominem eloquentissimum et ad omne pretium linguam habentem, cujus mediatione rex Franciæ remisit regi Angliæ juramentum de sorore du- 25 cenda, et quietam clamavit ei in perpetuum totam terram de Vaegesin et Gisortium, receptis ab eo decem millibus librarum argenti.

Philip and  
Richard  
leave Sicily.

§ 32. Rex Franciæ, cum suo exercitu regem Angliæ præcedens, versus Hierosolymam mari se 30 credidit tertio kalendas Aprilis. [30 Mar.] Rex Angliæ relicturus Siciliam fecit defieri castellum,

<sup>8</sup> *Apud Witham.*] In MS. P. Witteham.

<sup>11</sup> *Prius ibidem.*] Prius id idem, MS. P.

<sup>12</sup> *Suspectam habuit custodiam.*]

Richard alleged that Alice had been seduced by his late father Henry, to whom she had borne a son, and offered to prove his assertion.

quod extruxerat, et totam materiem secum por- A.D. 1191.  
tandam in navibus suis reposuit. Omne genus  
machinarum ad expugnandas munitiones, et om-  
ne genus armorum, quod cor hominis potuit exco-  
5 gitare, præsto jam habebat in navibus. Robertus  
filius Willelmi filii Radulphi consecratus est in  
episcopatum Wigorniae a Willelmo de Longo  
Campo adhuc legato, apud Cantuariam, tertio  
nonas Maii [Mai. 5]. Conventus Cantuariensis  
10 deposuit priorem suum, quem Baldewinus  
archiepiscopus eis præfecerat, et alterum loco  
depositi substituit.

§ 33. Walterus archiepiscopus Rothomagi quia, The arch-  
bishop of  
Rouen re-  
turns into  
England,  
ut clericorum est, pusillanimis erat et pavidus,  
15 salutata a longe Hierosolyma, omnem non rogatus  
remisit erga Salahadinum indignationem, et regi  
pro eo pugnaturus quicquid viatici attulerat do-  
navit et crucem, prætendens pudoris oblitus illa  
quam miserrima matrum diffidentia peperit devo-  
20 tione; scilicet, pastores ecclesiae debere potius  
prædicare quam præliari, non decere episco-  
pum arma portare nisi virtutum. Rex autem,  
cui necessarius visa est pecunia illius quam per-  
sonae praesentia, allegationes, ac si viva nimis  
25 ratione devictus, approbavit, et expeditum retro-  
misit eum literis suis in Angliam ad Willelmum  
Cancellarium, de fisco sub certo hominum et equo-  
rum numero exhibendum triennio; hoc in fine  
literarum addito pro honore et pro toto, ut Can-  
30 cellarius in agendis regni ejus uteretur consilio.  
Ex factis hujus archiepiscopi rex factus instruc-  
tior, purgavit exercitum, non permittens secum  
quemquam venire, nisi qui bene posset et bono  
animo vellet arma portare; nec revertentibus  
35 pecunias suas illuc usque allatas secum reportare  
permisit, aut arma. Reginam quoque matrem  
suam omni, ut decuit, honore susceptam, et post

A.D. 1191. dulces deosculationes gloriose deductam, redire fecit cum archiepiscopo, retenta sibi puella, quam quæsierat, et fidei sororis suæ credita, quæ jam ad occursum matris in castra redierat.

§ 34. Johannes Exoniensis episcopus diem clausit extremum. 5

Savaricus archidiaconus Northamptoniæ, et ipse unus ex plurimis, qui regem Angliæ ex Anglia persecuti sunt in Siciliam, donatus est a rege literis patentibus in matris regis præsentiam, ad iusticiarios Angliæ, assensum regis et aliquid majus assensu continentibus, ut in quamlibet dioccesim vacantem foret electus promoveretur. Hos apices Savaricus misit cognato suo episcopo Bathoniæ in Angliam, ipse vero Romam concessit, sicut qui fuerat Romanis notissimus. 15

with letters  
of recom-  
mendation  
from Richard:

§ 35. Ricardus rex Angliæ, literis in Angliam destinatis, toti regno suo valedicens et de honorando ab omnibus Cancellario summam mentionem faciens, parata classe sua meliore quam multa, cum exercitu electo et forti, cum Johanna sorore sua ac virgine maritanda, cum omnibus quæ pugnaturis aut peregre profecturis necessaria esse poterant, vento vela commisit, quarto idus Aprilis. [10 April.] In classe autem erant naves centum quinquaginta et sex, quatuor et viginti buceæ, galeæ triginta et novem; summa vasorum ducena decem atque novem. 20

His behav-  
our;

§ 36. Rothomagensis archiepiscopus venit Angliam ad Cancellarium, a quo susceptus est et exhibitus honorifice, et multo melius quam rex mandaverat. Subsecuti sunt et alii cum multis 30

<sup>17</sup> *Literis in Angliam destinatis.* the affairs of England, than had been entrusted to the Chancellor, or the earl of Mortaine. The letter may be seen in Vita Gaufridi, Archiep. Eborac. ii. 6.

mandatis, in quibus omnibus erat conclusio, Can- A.D. 1191.  
cellario parendum ab omnibus. Fratri maxime  
suo Johanni mandavit per singulos nunciorum, ut  
adhæreretur Cancellario, ut contra omnes homines  
5 illi fieret præsidio, ut præstitum sibi sacramentum  
non violaret. Rex Angliæ mandavit Cancellario,  
et conventui Cantuariæ, et episcopis provinciæ,  
ut canonice et communiter consulerent metropoli,  
quia Baldwinus defunctus prælato destituerat;  
10 de abbazia vero Westmonasterii jam vacante  
solo Cancellario permittitur ordinare pro libito.  
Eclipsis solis circa horam diei tertiam; mirati  
sunt qui causas rerum nesciunt, nullis obstantibus  
soli nubibus, medio die solis radios solito lucere  
15 debilius; sed hi quos agitatur mundi labor dicunt  
solis et lunæ defectus facere aliquid non signifi-  
care.

§ 37. Johannes frater regis, qui illo dudum aures Promotes the  
habuerat ut pro certo novit quod frater ad An- disagreement  
gliam terga verterat, jam ibat per regionem popu- between the  
20 losior, nec prohibebat suos se regis nominantes Chancellor  
heredem. Et sicut horrescere solum solet ad and earl John.  
solis absentiam, sic alterata est regni facies ad  
regis abscessum. Moventur quique majores,  
25 castra firmanantur, muniuntur oppida, fossata radun-  
tur. Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis non magis  
futuri præsentiens quam qui fomes laudabatur  
erroris, ita arridebat callide Cancellario, ut et  
ejus æmulis non displiceret. Mittuntur privatim  
30 brevia per barones cleri et populi, et sollicitantur  
animi singulorum in Cancellarium. Militia comiti  
libenter sed latenter consentiebat, clerus vero

<sup>12</sup> The eclipse here alluded to happened at half-past eleven on the forenoon of June 23, 1191.

<sup>21</sup> *Prohibebat.*] Vel cohibebat, *P. gloss.*

<sup>28</sup> *Arridebat.*] Arridere callebat, *P.*

<sup>29</sup> *Mittuntur.*] Vel ibant, *C.* and *P. gloss.*



A.D. 1191. natura meticulosior, neutrius audebat jurare in verba magistri. Cancellarius hæc sentiens dissimulavit, scire dedignans quod aliquis in eum aliquo modo aliquid audere præsumeret.

The Chancellor besieges the castle of Lincoln;

§ 38. Tandem olla detegitur; nunciatur illi 5  
quod Girardus de Camvilla, homo factiosus et fidei  
prodigus, homagium fecerat Johanni comiti fratri  
regis, de castello Lincolnæ, cujus custodia ad  
hereditatem Nicholæ, uxoris ejusdem Girardi,  
spectare dinoscitur, sed sub rege. Factum re- 10  
dundare videtur in coronam, et placet ultum ire  
commisum. Collecto igitur celeriter copioso ex-  
ercitu, venit in partes illas, et primo versus Wigemoram facto impetu, Rogerum de Mortuo Mari,  
insimulatum de conjuratione in regem facta cum 15  
Walensibus, castra dedere, et Angliam abjurare  
coegit triennio. Culpatur abscedens a complici-  
bus de cordis inopia, quod multo munitus milite cas-  
trorum et facultatis abundans, ante ictum ad nu-  
das minas presbyteri cecidisset. Sera fuit post ca- 20  
sum correptio; Rogerus regnum egreditur, et Can-  
cellarius jubet obsidere Lincolniam. Girardus erat  
cum comite, et uxor ejus Nicholaa nihil femineum  
cogitans castellum viriliter custodiebat. Can-  
cellarius versabatur totus circa Lincolniam, dum 25  
comes Johannes castrum de Nothingeham et illud  
de Tikehulla utrumque fortissimum, custodibus solo  
timore ad deditionem coactis, occupavit. Addidit  
etiam mandare Cancellario ut obsidionem solveret,  
alioquin se hominis sui ulturum injuriam. Non 30  
decere legalibus hominibus regni notis et liberis  
custodias suas auferre, et advenis et ignotis com-  
mittere. Argumentum ejus esse stultitiæ quod  
talibus castra regis crediderat, quia ea transeun-  
tibus exponerent. Cuilibet barbaro si præterisset 35

<sup>11</sup> Videtur.] Creditur, P.

<sup>15</sup> Regem.] Vel in regnum, P.  
gloss.

eadem facilitate qua et sibi castella patuisse, se A.D.1191.  
nolle diutius rerum et regni fratris desolationem  
silentio sustinere.

§ 39. Cancellarius, ad hæc turbatus incre- Conduct of  
the archbish-  
op of Rouen.  
5 dibiliter, accitis coram se proceribus et primis  
exercitus, inquit, 'Non mihi credideritis, si homo  
iste regnum sibi subjugare non quærit. Præpro-  
perum est quod præsumit, etiam si deberet cum  
fratre annuatim alternare coronam, quia Eteo-  
10 cles nondum annum integrum explevit in regno.'  
Multa in hunc modum verba efflaverat doloris, et  
rursus resumpto spiritu, ut erat major corde quam  
corpore, magna quædam mente concipiens, misit  
ad comitem archiepiscopum Rothomagensensem,  
15 mandans imperativo modo ut castra redderet, et  
de juramento erga fratrem infracto coram curia  
regis responderet. Archiepiscopus, utraque manu  
fabricare peritus, Cancellarii laudavit constan-  
tiam; et profectus ad comitem post mandatorum  
20 expressionem posuit ei in aurem ut, quicquid  
alii dicerent, auderet aliquid magnum, Gyaris et  
carcere dignum, si vellet esse aliquid. In pub-  
lico autem consuluit ut comes et Cancellarius ad  
colloquium convenirent, et dissidentiam eorum  
25 compromissio in arbitrios terminaret.

§ 40. Comes ad mandatorum indecentiam plus An interview  
agreed upon.  
quam iratus, toto corpore fiebat incognoscibilis.  
Rancor frontem sulcavit in rugas, scintillabant  
ardentes oculi, rosam faciei livor infecit, scio-  
30 que quid fieret de Cancellario, si in ipsa furoris  
hora inter manus gesticulantis devenisset in  
pomum. Indignatio in tantum clauso crevit  
in pectore, quod aut creperet aut partem ali-  
quam virus evomeret. 'Filius,' inquit, 'perdi-  
35 tionis, pejorum pessimus, qui de Francorum fa-  
cetiis præposterum geniculandi genus transvexit  
primus ad Anglos, non me vexaret, ut cernitis, si

A.D. 1191. oblatam mihi novam scientiam scire non refutassem.' Majora volebat vel vera vel falsa dicere, sed ad reverentiam præsentis archiepiscopi mentem recolligens et comprimens vecordiam, 'Si male locutus sum,' ait, 'archiepiscope, veniam 5 peto.' Post frivola seriis intendebant, ratiocinatum est circa mandata Cancellarii, et utrumque consilium archiepiscopi ad diei medium consentitur in colloquendum. Dies figitur quinto kalendas Augusti [28 Jul.]; locus, extra Wintoniam. 10 Cancellarius concessit stare quod providerant, et, dimissa obsidione, reversus est Londonias.

Preparatory  
arrange-  
ments;

§ 41. Comes vero verens ejus versutias conduxit illi quatuor millia Wallensium, ut, si Cancellarius inter inducias illum capere conaretur, 15 isti in latebris locati ex latere colloquii conatus ejus infringerent ex arrupto. Præterea, summoneri instituit et rogari, ut quisquis hominum suorum et aliorum se amantium conveniens esset ad bella procedere, secum veniret loco et die ad 20 susceptum, sed suspectum, sibi cum domino totius terræ colloquium, ut saltem vivus evaderet, si plus quam rex ille et minus in oculis suis contra jus fori faceret, aut in transactionem non consentiret. At contra Cancellarius tertium cum omnibus 25 armis totius Angliæ militem die nominato mandavit venire Wintoniam; de redditibus etiam regis conduxit et ipse Wallenses, ut si decertandum foret cum comite, haberet pares acies, et pila minantia pilis.

30

The meeting.

§ 42. Conventum est ad colloquium, sicut condictum est et prædictum, quod in melius quam timebatur contigit terminari. Conventio igitur facta inter comitem et Cancellarium erat hujusmodi, et hoc modo provisa. Tres in primis nominantur 35

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<sup>22</sup> *Colloquium.*] Colloquio, MSS.

episc pi, Wintoniensis, Londonensis, et Bathonen- A.D. 1191.  
sis, in quorum fidelitatem utraque pars secura se  
credidit. Episcopi elegerunt ad partem Cancellarii  
tres comites, de Warennā, de Arundel, de Clara,  
5 et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Ad partem  
comitis, Stephanum Ridel, comitis cancellarium,  
Willelmum de Venneval, Reginaldum de Wasse-  
ville, et quosdam alios octo nominatos. Isti omnes  
juraverunt, alii inspectis, alii tactis, sacrosanctis  
10 Evangeliiis, se provisuros inter comitem et Can-  
cellarium de querelis eorum et quæstionibus satis-  
factionem ad honorem utriusque partis et pacem  
regni. Et si quid deinceps inter eos contrarietatis  
emerserit, fideliter terminabunt. Comes etiam et  
15 Cancellarius juraverunt se in quicquid prædicti  
juratores providerint consensuros; et hæc fuit  
provisio. Girardo de Camwillā in gratiam Can-  
cellarii recepto, remansit illi in bono et pace  
custodia castri de Lincolnia; comes reddidit cas-  
20 tella quæ ceperat, quæ recepta Cancellarius tra-  
didit fidelibus et ligiis hominibus regis, scilicet,  
Willelmo de Wenn' castellum de Nothingeham,  
et Reginaldo de Wasseville castellum de Tike-  
hulla; et uterque istorum dedit obsidem Cancel-  
25 lario, quod castella illa custodirent in salva pace  
et fidelitate domini regis, si vivus rediret. Si  
autem rex ante regressum in fata concederet,  
prædicta castra comiti redderentur, et Cancel-  
larius redderet obsides. Constabularii castello-  
30 rum de honoribus comitis mutarentur a Cancel-  
lario, si eos mutandos comes de ratione monstra-  
ret. Cancellarius, si rex obiret, comiti exhere-  
dationem non quæreret; sed eum pro omni posse  
suo promoveret ad regnum. Actum sollenniter  
35 apud Wintoniam, septimo kalendas Maii. [25  
Apr.]

§ 43. Cancellarius mira exactione et instantia

A.D.1191. induxit primo partem aliquam monachorum, et  
Affairs of  
Westminster. postmodum totam congregationem Westmonas-  
 terii, quod permiserunt fratrem ejus monachum  
 de Cadomo profiteri cohabitationem in Westmo-  
 nasterio, eligendum sibi ab omnibus in abbatem a  
 professione et cohabitatione, die nominato; et ut  
 hæc fabricatio non infringeretur, scripto cautum  
 est, sigillo ecclesiæ apposito in testimonium. 5

Geoffrey,  
archbishop of  
York, pre-  
pares to visit  
England. § 44. Gaufridus, non ex matre frater Ricardi  
 regis et Johannis comitis, qui consecratus fuerat 10  
 in archiepiscopum Eboracensem Turonis, ab ar-  
 chiepiscopo Turonensi, de mandato summi ponti-  
 ficis, non semel sollicitavit mandatis Johannem  
 fratrem regis et suum, ut saltem suo assensu re-  
 verti sibi liceret in Angliam; quo consentiente, 15  
 redire paravit. Intermandata fratrum non latu-  
 erunt Cancellarium, qui præcavens ne qualitas  
 genuinæ perversitatis cresceret ex augmento,  
 mandavit custodibus litorum, ut ubicumque archi-  
 episcopus ille, qui Angliam abjuraverat triennio 20  
 peregrinationis regis, terræ illaberetur infra ter-  
 minum, progredi non permetteretur, nisi de con-  
 silio juratorum, in quos comes et Cancellarius  
 juramento compromiserant de omnibus, quæ po-  
 terant intercidere. 25

Death of  
Robert,  
abbot of  
Mucheiny. § 45. Robertus quidam prior Herefordiensis,  
 monachus de seipso nihil modicum æstimans,  
 alienis se negociis ut sua intersereret libenter  
 ingerens, in Cancellarii mandatis ierat ad regem  
 in Siciliam; ubi non est oblitus sui post cetera: 30  
 qui quocumque modo quemcumque pigeret, abba-  
 ciam de Muchenia concessam sibi a rege et con-  
 firmatam meruit obtinere. Ad quam, agente  
 Cancellario, contra velle conventus, possidendam,  
 nec canonice nec cum benedictione, ingressus; et 35

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<sup>25</sup> *Intercidere.*] Vel post accidere, *P. gloss.*

primo mox die ad primum prandium ex anguillis A.D. 1191.  
recentibus avidius sine vino quam expediret, et  
amplius insumendo, incidit in languorem, quem  
peperit cibus indigestus et hærens ardenti sto-  
macho. Et ne voracitati languor ascriberetur,  
monachos loci de dato sibi toxico fecit infamari.

§ 46. Gaufridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, de Geoffrey, archbishop of York, seized by the Chancellor.  
consensu Johannis comitis fratris sui præsumens,  
parato navigio suo, Dovram appulit; qui mox  
10 terræ redditus primo petiit oraturus ecclesiam.  
Est ibi prioratus monachorum de professione Can-  
tuariorum, quorum oratorium missam auditu-  
rus cum clericis suis ingressus est, et familia ejus  
circa exsarcinandas naves erat intenta. Jam  
15 tota suppellex terram tenuit, cum subito consta-  
bularius castelli quicquid putabatur esse archi-  
episcopi trahi fecit in oppidum, plus in mandato  
domini sui Cancellarii intelligens, quam manda-  
verat. Quidam etiam militum, armati sub tunicis  
20 et spatibus accincti, venerunt in monasterium, ut  
comprehenderent pontificem; quos ut vidit, præ-  
cognita voluntate eorum, accepit crucem in manus  
suas, priorque eos alloquens et manus in suos  
extendens, ait, 'Ego sum archiepiscopus, si me  
25 quæritis, sinite hos abire.' Et milites, 'Utrum  
archiepiscopus,' inquiunt, 'sis, nec ne, nihil ad  
nos; unum scimus, quoniam tu es Gaufridus  
filius Henrici regis, quem genuit quocumque  
thoro, qui coram rege, cujus te fratrem facis,  
30 Angliam abjurasti triennio; si sicut traditor regni  
in regnum non veneris, si literas absolutionis  
attuleris, aut dic, aut accipe calcem.' Tunc ar-  
chiepiscopus, 'Traditor,' inquit, 'non sum, nec  
litteras aliquas vobis ostendam.' Injecerunt illico  
35 coram ipso altari manus in eum, et invitum ac  
renitentem, non repugnantem, violenter extraxe-  
runt de ecclesia; qui mox extra limen positus

A.D. 1191. ipsos, qui in eum manus miserant, præsentes et audientes et adhuc illum tenentes, excommunicavit ex nomine, et oblatum sibi equum, ut cum illis ad castrum equitaret, quia mancipium fuit excommunicatorum, non recepit. Quem, totius 5 obliti mansuetudinis, per manus trahebant peditem et crucem portantem per lutum platearum usque in castrum. Post hæc omnia, cum captivo suo de gratia sua volebant humanitus agere, inferentes illi de melioribus cibis, quos sibi paraverant, sed ille, ex his quæ jam tulerat factus constantior, cibos illorum velut idoliticum respuens, nolebat vivere nisi de proprio. It rumor per regionem vento velocior, sequuntur qui dominum suum secuti fuerant a longe, referentes et con- 15 querentes ad omnes archiepiscopum fratrem regis sic appulsum, sic tractatum, sic retentum in carcere.

The Chancellor excuses his conduct.

§ 47. Archiepiscopus erat in custodia jam tri-  
duanus, et Cancellarius, statim ut sibi casus in- 20  
notuit, omnibus suis illi redditis, fecit liberum  
quaquaversum vellet abire. Scripsit insuper Jo-  
hanni comiti et omnibus episcopis, cum juramento  
asserens citra conscientiam suam præfatum virum  
præscriptas injurias pertulisse. Parum profecit 25  
excusatio, quia dudum quæsita et votis emta  
visco tenacius retenta est, quæ se sponte obtulit  
adversus eum occasio. Excommunicantur ab  
omni ecclesia totius regni in speciale præsumtores  
tantæ temeritatis, qui in archiepiscopum manus 30  
injecerant, in genere auctores et conscientes; ut  
saltem in generali maledictione Cancellarius om-  
nibus invidiosus involveretur.

<sup>28</sup> *Involceretur.*] Here, in P. | abrasum erat, quicquid illud  
about half a page is erased; in C. | esset.' The narrative, however,  
this marginal note occurs: 'Hic | does not appear to be defective.

§ 48. Comes Johannes, in non amatum sibi A.D. 1191.  
 Cancellarium genuinos exacuens, coram singulis Earl John  
summons a  
meeting;  
 episcoporum et magnatum regni de infracta ex  
 adversa parte juratæ pacis conventione, de fratris  
 5 ejus ad sui dedecus captionem, querelam deposuit  
 plurimum ponderosam. Rogantur juratores et  
 conjurantur stare promissioni juratæ, faciantque  
 celerius ne deterius fiat, ut fidefragus et perjurus  
 satisfactione digna deleat quod deliquit. Res in  
 10 nugis hactenus actitata jam procedit ad certum;  
 summonitur valida auctoritate omnium suorum et  
 comitis mediatorum Cancellarius, ut ad accusa-  
 tiones comitis responsurus et juri pariturus sibi  
 occurrat, loco ad Pontem Lodani, die tertio nonas  
 15 Octobris. [5 Octob.]

§ 49. Comes cum maxima parte majorum regni The Chancel-  
lor comes to  
London;  
 omnium sibi faventium per duos dies expecta-  
 verat loco colloquii Cancellarium, et tertio mane  
 præmisit quosdam ex se sequentibus Londoniam,  
 20 expectans in loco colloquii adhuc si expectatus  
 ille aut auderet aut dignaretur venire. Cancel-  
 larius, timens sibi de comite et suspectos habens  
 judices, duos dies distulit ad locum venire; tertio  
 (quia, ut cuique conscia mens est, ita concipit  
 25 inter pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo,)  
 inter spem et metum medius ad colloquium ire  
 perrexit. Et ecce! vir sibi fidelis Henricus Biset,  
 qui viderat transeuntes præmissos de familia  
 comitis, admisso subdens creberrime calcar equo,  
 30 venit obvius Cancellario, fidem faciens quod  
 comes ab antedie armatus ierat Londoniam  
 capere; et quis esset eo die qui non ut Evan-  
 gelium acciperet quicquid ille mentiri nescius  
 diceret? Sed mentitus non est, quia verum esse

<sup>14</sup> Pontem Lodani.] Lodbridge, may be seen in Vita Gaufridi,  
 between Windsor and Reading. Archiep. Ebor. ii. 6, ap. Angl.  
 A fuller account of this meeting | Sac. ii. 394.



A.D. 1191. putabat quod dixerat. Cancellarius, hac vice deceptus ut homo, omnem qui secum erat militem fecit armari continuo; et se æstimans e vestigio subsequi comitem præeuntem, prævenit eum in civitatem. Rogati cives ab eo, quia comes nondum aderat, ut venienti portas clauderent, responderunt, eum turbatorem terræ nominantes et traditorem. Archiepiscopus enim Eboracensis, futurorum conscius, dum ibi per aliquot dies moram fecisset, ut videret finem negotii, assiduis querelis et precibus commoverat omnes in illum; qui tunc primo se proditum sentiens confugit in Arcem, et Londonienses observabant a terra et mari, ne profugeret. Comes, cognita ejus fuga, cum copiis suis eum insequens receptus est ab ovatis civibus cum laternis et facibus, quia de nocte venit in urbem; nihilque defuit in salutationibus adulantis populi, nisi illud Sithaci, Chere Basileus, hoc est, 'Salve, care domine!'

A meeting in  
St. Paul's  
church;

§ 50. Crastino comes et universi magnates regni convenerunt in ecclesia Sancti Pauli, et audita est prima omnium querela Eboracensis archiepiscopi; post illam admissus est quisquis habebat aliquid in eum. Summam et diligentem audientiam habuerunt accusatores absentis, et præcipue ille in verbis plurimus Hugo Coventrensis episcopus, pridie familiarissimus ejus; qui, quia pessima pestis est familiaris inimicus, pejus omnibus et perversius in familiarem elocutus, non prius destitit donec diceretur ab omnibus, 'Nolumus hunc regnare super nos.' Tota itaque concio sine ulla dilatione constituerunt Johannem comitem fratrem regis summum rectorem totius

\* Hugo.] Giraldus Cambrensis characterises him as 'vir eloquentiæ singularis, vir prudentia pariter et animositate conspicuus.' Vit. Gaufr. Archiep. Ebor. ii. 3.

regni, et ut omnia castella quibus vellet custodi- A.D. 1191.  
enda traderet statuentes, tria tantum de minus  
valentibus, ab invicem plurimum distantia, nomi-  
netenus jam Cancellario reliquerunt. Justici-  
5 arius supremus post comitem, Justiciarii Errantes,  
Custodes scaccarii, castrorum constabularii, om-  
nes novi de novo instituuntur. Inter alios tunc  
receptores et episcopus Wintoniensis, quas sibi  
Cancellarius tulerat, in integrum recepit custo-  
10 dias, et dominus Dunelmensis recepit comitatum  
Norumbriæ.

§ 51. Dies ille nefastus declinabat ad vesper-  
am, et quatuor episcopi et totidem comites ex  
parte concionis missi ad Cancellarium exposue-  
15 runt illi ad literam totius acta diei. Inhorruit  
ille ad inopinatam audaciam præsumtorum, et,  
deficiente spiritu, decidit in terram ita exsanguis,  
ut ex ore spumas emitteret. Injecta sibi aqua  
frigida in faciem, revixit, et erectus in pedes torvo  
20 nuncios perstrinxit lumine, dicens, 'Una salus  
victis nullam sperare salutem. Vicistis et vinx-  
istis incautum. Si me Dominus Deus dominum  
meum regem inter duos oculos videre dederit,  
dies ista malo vobis illuxit, certi estote. Quan-  
25 tum in vobis est, comiti jam dedistis quicquid  
regis erat in regno. Dicite ei, vivit adhuc Pri-  
amus. Vos, qui vestri viventis adhuc regis im-  
memores, alterum vobis elegistis in dominum,  
dicite illi domino vestro quoniam totum ibit aliter  
30 quam existimat. Castella non dedam, sigillum  
non resignabo.' Regressi ab eo nuncii retule-  
runt comiti quod acceperant, qui præcepit arctius  
arcem obsideri.

The result  
communicated to the  
Chancellor,  
and

<sup>15</sup> *Quatuor episcopi.*] Namely, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry. Angl. Sacr. ii. 396.

<sup>30</sup> *Obsideri.*] Giraldus Cambrensis gives a different account of John's behaviour, informing us that he was so influenced by the

A.D. 1191. § 52. Cancellarius ad maiorem partem noctis,  
he resolves to surrender. (quia qui non intendit animum studiis et rebus honestis invidia vel amore vigil torquebitur,) erat insomnis; et eum interim sui plus torquebant quam conscientia, rogantes cum lacrimis pedibus 5 ejus provoluti, ut necessitati cederet, et ne contra torrentem brachia tenderet. Emollitur ille ferro durior ad gemituosa concilia circumflentium; iterum et iterum exanimatus præ tristitia ad ultimum vix adquievit fieri, quod omni destitutus auxilio 10 facere cogebatur. Unus ex fratribus ejus et tres cum eo non ignobiles permissi, non missi, nunciaverunt ipsa hora noctis comiti Cancellarium, quocumque non refert animo, quicquid provisum est, pati et agere paratum. Tollat moras, quia 15 semper nocuit differre paratis. In crastino fieret ne talis se ventus obverteret, ut differretur in annum. Revertuntur isti in arcem, et nota fecit ante diem ista fieri comes sibi consentientibus.

A meeting between the Earl and the Chancellor.

§ 53. Oceanum interea nascens Aurora reliquit, 20 et comes cum tota cohorte sua exivit in planitiem, quæ est extra Londonias ad orientem, orto jam sole; venit illuc et Cancellarius, sed minus mane quam adversarii. Tenuerunt majores medium, circa quos proxima fuit corona Quiritum, et 25 populus spectans erat deorsum, ut aestimabatur, ad decem millia hominum. Aggreditur Cancellarium primus Coventrensis episcopus, singulas accusationes diei præteritæ retractans, et de suo semper aliquid adjiciens. 'Non est,' inquit, 30 'decens nec tolerabile, ut unius talis qualis ignavia tot viros nobiles et honorabiles de tam remotis partibus toties faciat convenire pro nihilo. Et quia melius est semel dolere quam

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explanations and promises of the Chancellor that he would have raised the siege, but for the interference of the archbishop of York and the bishop of Coventry. Vit. Gauf. Archiep. Ebor. ii. 9.

semper, brevibus omnia claudam. Non placet, A.D. 1191.  
quia non expedit, ut ulterius domineris in regno.  
Contentus eris episcopatu tuo, et tribus castellis,  
quæ tibi indulsumus, et magni nominis umbra.  
<sup>5</sup> De reliquis omnibus castellis reddendis, et de  
non movenda porrecta aut tumultibus fabricandis,  
dabis frumentarios obsides, et liber abire postea  
poteris quaversus volueris.' Multi super hæc  
multa dixerunt, nemo contra; solus dominus  
<sup>10</sup> Wintoniensis, quatenus pluribus eloquentior esset,  
semper tacuit. Demum Cancellarius, vix loqui  
permissus, ait, 'Semper ego auditor tantum?  
nunquamne reponam? Ante omnia noveritis  
singuli et universi quod nullius rei reum me  
<sup>15</sup> sentio quare os alicujus vestrum timere debeam.  
Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, me nec sciente  
nec volente, captum profiteor, id civiliter si re-  
cipitis vel ecclesiastice probaturus. De exciden-  
tiis regis et feminis donationis ejus si quid egerim,  
<sup>20</sup> Gaufridus filius Petri, Willelmus Briwere, Hugo  
Bardolfe, quos a rege consiliarios habui, si liceret  
eis loqui, pro me satisfacerent. Cur, et in quid,  
denarios regis expenderim, præsto sum usque ad  
ultimum quadrantem rationem reddere. Obsides  
<sup>25</sup> dare pro reddendis castellis, licet in hoc regi  
magis timeam, quia cogit oportet, non diffugio.  
Nomen quod non valetis auferre, nominatum ad-  
huc habiturus, non vilipendo. In summa, scien-  
dum omnibus dico, quod de nulla administratione  
<sup>30</sup> mihi a rege tradita me depono. Circumvenistis  
unum plurimi, fortiores me estis, et ego Cancel-

<sup>5</sup> *Tribus castellis.*] Namely, that during the two years in  
Dover, Cambridge, and Hereford. which the bishop of Ely exer-  
Angl. Sacr. ii. 398. cised the office of Treasurer, he

<sup>21</sup> *Bardolfe.*] The MSS. incor- converted the funds to his own  
rectly read 'Barde.' purposes. Vit. Gaufr. Archiep.

<sup>22</sup> *Denarios.*] Giraldus states Ebor. ii. 15.

A.D. 1191. larius regis et regni Justiciarius contra formam totius juris judicatus, quia necesse est, fortioribus cedo.' Allegationibus partium fecit finem sol vergens in vesperum; recipiuntur in obsidium duo fratres Cancellarii qui fuit, et quidam tertius, 5 qui a secretis ei fuerat cubicularius. Solutum est concilium, redditis clavibus Arcis Londoniæ, sexto idus Octobris [Oct. 10]. Cancellarius Dovram, unum, scilicet, ex tribus, unde mentio facta est, castris, profectus est; et comes omnia munita 10 terræ, quibus voluit et plus credidit, sibi reddita liberavit.

The Chancellor's proceedings.

§54. Mittuntur continuo, et a damnato et a damnatoribus, nuncii ad ipsum regem in Terram Promissionis, quique pro parte sua ad accusandum vel 15 excusandum sufficienter instructi. Nominativo hic Cancellarius ex perditæ potestatis et præsens sui status recordatione confusus, inhibitionem transfretationis dum modis omnibus molitur eludere, non uniformiter nec semel tantum illusus est. 20 Taceo, quod et in habitu monachi et in muliebri veste prehensus fuerit et retentus, quia multum et nimis est meminisse quam inæstimabilem suppellectilem, quam multiplices sibi gazas, demum in Flandriam appulso, Flandrenses diripuerunt. 25 Cujus transfretatione cognita, quicquid in Anglia reddituum possederat confiscatur. Fit dira inter diros decertatio. Cancellarius sublatam sibi suspendit diocesim, et pervasores ejus denotat et innodat anathemate. Nec fuit eo corde minor 30

<sup>11</sup> *Terræ.*] Terra. MSS.

<sup>21</sup> *Muliebri veste.*] A minute account of this transaction may be seen in Hoveden, f. 400; and in Vita Gauf. Archiep. Eborac. ii. 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Innodat anathemate.*] The bishop of Ely, having procured

letters from the pope investing him with legatine authority, returned into England in the beginning of April, 1192; when, in consequence of his reception, he placed his bishopric under interdict. Vita Gauf. Archiep. Ebor. ii. 13, 14.

Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, qui in ultionem A.D. 1191. illius præsuntæ excommunicationis in fiscarios per Neustriam denunciari mandavit Willelmum de Longo Campo excommunicatum haberi. No-  
 5 lebat tamen se videri maledictionem metuere latam in pervasores prædicti episcopatus, nec dignabatur credere sententiam profugi præsulis posse in solium suæ majestatis ascendere. Fuit igitur foeda facies Eliensis ecclesiæ, tacetur per totam  
 10 diocesim ab omni opere Domini, corpora mortuorum per omnes vicos inhumata jaciuntur. In Neustria, vice reddita, nemo ex archiepiscopabilibus communicabat Cancellario, in ingressu ejus omnis ecclesia suspenditur et egressu omnia  
 15 signa pulsantur, et altaria ubi celebravit dejiciuntur.

§ 55. Duo legati a latere summi Pontificis The Papal Legates suspend Normandy. directi in Galliam instinctu, ut fertur, regis Francorum sed occulto, venere Gisortium visi-  
 20 taturi Normanniam, quam regni Francorum partem præcipuam fuisse didicerant; quos, quia castri constabularius et senescallus Neustriæ non admiserunt, hac se rationis umbra tuentes quod non, nisi favente fundi domino vel præsentē, de-  
 25 beat cujusquam provinciæ fieri visitatio. Hoc specialiter privilegio omnes reges Anglorum et Ricardum præcipue ab Apostolica sede donatos. Nihil egit apud legatos vera vel verisimilis allegatio; crevit et intumuit, sed contra intimidos Diis  
 30 æqua potestas. Contemta recolitur Romanæ majestatis auctoritas; projiciunt ampullas et sexquipedalia verba. Multam in resistentes multa acerbitate minantur, et tamen quia non habebant placitare cum pueris, clausis contra eos  
 35 castri foribus, steterunt de foris. Sed non defuit

<sup>17</sup> Duo legati.] Namely, Octavian bishop of Ostia, and Jordan abbot of Fossa Nova.

A.D. 1191. suum repulsis solatium. Quo non poterant personaliter accedere, processerunt potentialiter. Castellani Gisortii et senescallum Neustriæ præsentibus excommunicaverunt ex nomine, et universam Neustriam ab universo ritus ecclesiastici suspendenda ministerio. Oportuit deferri potentia; siluit ecclesia continuo et continue trium septimanarum spatium, donec, invocato summo Pontifice, remissa fuit et in nominatos sententia et in Neustriam lata suspensio. Redditus est liber libertatis Neustriæ et vox letitiæ, et legatis inhibuitur est portare pedes in Neustriam.

Monastic  
affairs.

§ 56. Westmonasterienses monachi, qui ante dies istos tam magni cordis exstiterant, ut pro mori sua facta non inficerent, ex quo viderunt tempus alterum et ipsi alterati cum tempore, quicquid cum Cancellario de fratre suo pepigerant retro dorsum ponentes, Priorem domus suæ in abbatem conniventia comitis elegerunt, qui et benedictionem et baculum sine dilatione percepit ab episcopo Londonensi. Frater Cancellarii, qui de conducto debuerat eligi in abbatem, videns conventum contra sua pacta venire, confusus cum suo curto pudore recessit; cartam tamen cautionis secum deferens, appellatione antea secundam electionem facta coram legitimis testibus, ne quid contra cautam sibi fieret promotionem.

Monachi de Mucheleneia, quem vi susceperant suum nescio quem, nec electum, nec abbatem, exemplo Westmonasteriensium non tantum a simili ejecerunt de domo sua; stramenta lecti ejus post illum projicientes, et conviciatum cum contumeliis extra insulam quatuor ventis exposuerunt.

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<sup>21</sup> *Frater Cancellarii.*] Henry seen in Vita Gaufr. Archiep. de Longo Campo, of whom an Ebor. ii. 9. unfavourable character may be .

§ 57. Archiepiscopus Rothomagensis consti- A.D. 1191.  
 tutus a comite Justiciarius regni et supremus  
 super negotia, convocato Cantuariam clero et po- Election of  
 pulo, de eligendo archipræsule, sicut rex ipse sibi the arch-  
 5 injunxerat, agere instituit. Londonensis au- bishop of  
 tem et Wintoniensis episcopi non affuerunt, regis Canterbury;  
 detenti negotiis apud Londonias; factaque inter  
 episcopos, qui convenerant, quæstione, quis eorum  
 videretur esse major, cujus esse deberet electio,  
 10 ex quo duo prædicti primæ dignitatis aberant,  
 Prior Cantuariensis, nodum difficultatis absolvens,  
 omnes fecit æquales in eligendo pontifice, pro-  
 cedens in publicum cum monachis suis, et in  
 facie totius ecclesiæ eligens in archiepiscopum de  
 15 medio cleri Reginaldum episcopum Batoniæ.

§ 58. Reginaldus Cantuariensis electus Romam, his death,  
 si Parcæ parcerent, pro pallio profecturus, expletis  
 apud Cantuariam sollennitatibus, quæ fieri solent  
 circa electos, venit disponere Bathoniensi eccle-  
 20 siæ, quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus.  
 Fertur etiam quod de eligendo et sibi subrogando  
 Savarico, Northamptoniæ archidiacono, Prioris  
 et conventus impetrarit assensum et perceperit  
 cautionem. Unde revertens ægrotavit in itinere,  
 25 et accubuit æger nimis apud manerium suum de  
 Dokemeresfeld; quique videns nihil sibi esse  
 vicinius quam mortem, suscepit habitum monachi  
 per manus Walteri Prioris sui tunc secum mo-  
 rantis, et accipiens hæc locutus est, 'Deus noluit  
 30 me esse archiepiscopum, et ego nolo; Deus vo-  
 luit me esse monachum, et ego volo.' Literas  
 etiam regis ad justiciarios de concessa Savarico  
 diocesi ad quamcumque foret electus canonice  
 attulit in extremis agens, dedit Priori Bathoniæ,  
 35 ut hujus auctoritate instrumenti citius promo-  
 veretur. Omnibus deinde, quæ ad fidem spectant  
 et pœnitentiam, devote et sana mente peractis,



A.D. 1191. quievit in Domino septimo kalendas Januarii  
[Dec. 26].

and epitaph.

### EPITAPHIUM.

Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat;  
Nemo plus quærat; quicquid docuit faciebat. 5  
Sancti Swithuni nisi pratum præripuisset  
Hunc de communi mors tam cito non rapuisset.  
Sed, quia pœnituit, minuit mors passa reatum;  
Fecit quod potuit, se dedit ad monachatum.

Walterus prior Bathoniæ et suus sine clero 10  
conventus elegerunt sibi in futurum episcopum  
Savaricum, archidiaconum Northamptoniæ, ab-  
sentem et adhuc casum cognati pontificis igno-  
rantem; et licet clerus reniteretur obtinuerunt.

Disposition  
of Richard's  
fleet.

§ 59. Classis Ricardi regis Anglorum altum 15  
legebat, et hoc ordine procedebat. In prima  
fronte ibant tres naves tantum, in quarum una  
erat regina Siciliæ et puella Navarorum, forte  
adhuc virgo; in duabus, aliqua pars thesauri regis  
et armorum; in singulis trium, homines defen- 20  
sabiles et victualia. In secundo ordine erant  
inter naves et buceas et dromundos tredecim; in  
tertio, quatuordecim; in quarto, viginti; in quinto,  
triginta; in sexto, quadraginta; in septimo, sexa-  
ginta; in novissimo rex ipse cum galeis suis 25  
sequebatur. Erat inter naves et processiones  
earum tali discretione inductum nautis spatium,  
quod de uno ordine ad alterum vox tubæ, de una  
navi ad alteram vox hominis, audiri potuit. Illud  
etiam fuit admirabile quod rex non minus sanus 30  
et incolumis, fortis et potens, levis et exsiliens,  
erat in mari quam solebat esse in terris. Con-  
cludo ergo quod non erat unus homo validior illo  
in mundo, nec in terra, nec in mari.

§ 60. Prædicto itaque modo et ordine, navibus A.D. 1191.  
 aliis alias præeuntibus, duæ de tribus primis, vi <sup>Wrecked and  
plundered off  
Cyprus.</sup>  
 ventorum impulsæ, cautibus juxta portum Cypri  
 contritæ sunt; tertia, quæ Anglica erat, agilior  
 5 illis retorta in altum, diffugit periculum. Omnes  
 fere homines utriusque navis vivi evaserunt ad  
 terram, de quibus multos interfecerunt occur-  
 rentes Cyprii, quosdam ceperunt, quidam refu-  
 gientes in quandam ecclesiam obsessi fuerunt.  
 10 Quicquid etiam in navibus de mari fuerat erutum  
 cessit in prædam Cypriorum. Princeps quoque  
 insulæ illius adveniens in partem suam recepit  
 aurum et arma, et fecit ab omni, quem convocare  
 potuit, armato observari litus, ut classem se-  
 15 quentem applicare non sineret, ne rex sibi sur-  
 repta reciperet. Supra portum erat urbs fortis et  
 super rupem nativam castellum eminens et mu-  
 nitum. Tota gens illa bellicosa et de rapto vivere  
 consueta. Ponebant in introitu portus per trans-  
 20 itum trabes et tigna, portæ et ostia, et tota terra,  
 toto animo, contra Anglos se præparavit ad pug-  
 nam. Voluit Deus ut populus maledictus ma-  
 lorum meritum per manus non miserentis acci-  
 peret. Tertia navis Anglica, in qua erant fe-  
 25 minæ, ejectis ancoris, in alto exspectabat et  
 omnia considerabat e contra relatura casum regi,  
 ne forte damni et dedecoris nescius locum præter-  
 iret inultus. Venit navium regis ordo post al-  
 terum, et substituerunt omnes ad primam. Rumor  
 30 refusum pervenit ad regem, qui, missis nunciis ad  
 dominum insulæ, nihil voluntatis adeptus, man-  
 davit universum exercitum armari a primo usque  
 ad ultimum, et de magnis navibus egressos in ga-  
 leis et scaphis sequi illum ad litus. Fit quod ju-  
 35 bitur citissime, venit in armis ad portum. Rex  
 armatus, primus de galea exsiliens, primum ictum  
 dedit in bello; sed antequam posset dare secun-

Richard cap-  
tures the city.

A.D. 1191. dum tria millia suorum habebat in latere secum percutientium. Dejicitur in momento quicquid lignorum oppositum fuerat in portu, et ascendunt viri fortes in urbem non mitiores quam solent esse leænæ, raptis foetibus. Pugnatur contra illos 5 viriliter, et ceciderunt vulnerati ex his et ex illis, et inebriabantur gladii utrorumque in sanguine. Vincuntur Cyprii, capta est urbs, et cum castello, diripitur quicquid placet victoribus, et ipse dominus insulæ captus est et adductus ad regem. Pre- 10 catur veniam comprehensus et meretur, offert homagium regi et recipitur, et jurat non rogatus quod amodo de illo, sicut de ligio domino, tenebit insulam, et omnia castella terræ sibi aperiet et exponet, damnum restituet, et de proprio largi- 15 etur. Dimissus post juramentum jubetur in mane pacta complere.

Isaac's sub-  
mission,

treachery,

§ 61. Nocte illa rex quievit in castro; et juratus ejus fugiens secessit in aliud castellum, et summoniri fecit omnem hominem terræ, qui poterant arma portare, ut convenirent ad eum, et ita factum est. Rex autem Hierusalem eadem nocte applicuit in Cyprum, ut occurreret regi et salutaret eum, cujus adventum plus quam omnium hominum totius mundi desideraverat. In 25 crastino quæsitus est ille dominus Cyprii, et compertus est effugisse. Rex, videns se esse illum, et ubi esset edoctus, præcepit regi Hierosolimorum sequi perfidum per terram cum media parte exercitus, ipse alteram partem circumduxit per aquam, 30 volens esse in obviam, ne elaberetur per mare. Convenerunt partes circa oppidum in quod fugerat, et ille contra regem egressus commisit cum Anglis, et pugnatum est acriter ab utrisque partibus. Victi fuissent Angli in illa die, nisi 35 sub rege Ricardo pugnassent. Potiuntur tandem victoria caro mercata, fugit Cyprius et captum est

castrum. Insequuntur illum reges sicut prius, A.D. 1191. unus per terram, alter per aquam, et obsessus est in tertio castello. Dejiciuntur muri illius fundis balearibus ingentia saxa rotantibus, promittit de-  
 5 ditionem oppressus, si tantummodo in vincula ferrea non poneretur. Annuit rex precibus supplicantis, et fecit ei fieri argenteos compedes. Capto itaque piratarum principe, rex peragravit totam insulam et cepit omnia castella ejus, et posuit  
 10 custodes suos in singulis, et constituit justiciarios et vicecomites, et subdita est illi tota terra in omnibus, sicut Anglia. Aurum, et sericum, et gemmas de thesauris effractis sibi retinuit; argentum et victualia dedit exercitui. Regi quoque Hieru-  
 15 salem de acquisito suo largitus est largissime.

Et quia jam transierat Quadragesima, et legi-  
 timum contrahendi tempus advenerat, Berenga-  
 riam filiam regis Navarorum, quam ad se in Qua-  
 dragesima mater adduxerat, sibi despondi fecit in  
 20 insula.

§ 62. Repetitis post ista navibus, versus Acca-  
 ronem feliciter navigans, offendit navem onera-  
 riam maximæ magnitudinis a Salahadino ad ob-  
 sessos directam, victualibus et armato milite ple-  
 25 nam. Navem mirabilem, navem, qua præter  
 navem Noë, non legitur major ulla fuisse. Lætatus est hic vir validus, quia ubique materiam  
 virtutis offendit, primus ipse pugnatorum, accitis  
 ad suam galeis suorum, navale proelium coepit  
 30 habere cum Turcis. Navis fuit munita turribus  
 et propugnaculis, et pugnabant vecorditer de-  
 sperati, quia est una salus victis nullam sperare  
 salutem. Dirus erat assultus et dura defensio; sed  
 quid adeo durum, quod non domaverit ille durus  
 35 durandus? Devincuntur Mocomicolæ, navis illa

and punish-  
ment.

Richard mar-  
ries Bereu-  
garia.

Captures a  
Saracen ship.

<sup>19</sup> Despondi fecit.] Upon Sunday, 12 May.

A.D. 1191. regina navium detrita demergitur, quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus, et periit cum possessoribus suis tota possessio.

and arrives  
at Acres.

Rex inde progrediens venit ad Accaronis obsidionem, et exceptus est ab obsidentibus cum gaudio tanto, ac si esset Christus, qui revenisset in terram restituere regnum Israelis. Rex Francorum prævenerat ad Accaronem, et magni habitus est ab indigenis; sed, superveniente Ricardus, ita delituit et sine nomine factus est, ut solet ad solis ortum suum luna lumen amittere.

His liberality  
to Henry  
earl of  
Champagne.

§ 63. Venit ad regem suum Henricus comes Campaniæ, cui jam deficiebat quicquid advexerat victus aut pretii. Postulat subventionem, cui rex suus et dominus fecit offerri centum millia Parisiacensium, si tamen sibi velit oppignerare Campaniam. Ad hæc comes, 'Feci,' inquit, 'quod potui et debui, nunc faciam quod cogit oportet; meo regi militare volebam, sed me non recepit, nisi pro meo, vado ad eum qui me recipiet, qui paratior est ad dare, quam ad accipere.' Rex Anglorum Ricardus venienti ad eum Henrico comiti Campaniæ dedit quatuor millia modios tritici, quatuor millia bacones, et quatuor millia libras argenti. Totus igitur exercitus alienigenarum, qui ex omni natione, quæ sub cælo est, nominis Christiani, jam pridem et ante regum adventum convenerat ad obsidionem, ad tantæ famam donationis Ricardum regem in ducem recepit et dominum; soli, qui dominum suum secuti fuerant, Franci resederunt cum suo paupere rege Francorum.

His exploits.

§ 64. Rex Anglorum, moræ nescius, tertia die sui adventus in obsidionem fecit exstrui et erigi castellum suum ligneum, quod in Sicilia factum

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<sup>4</sup> *Venit ad Accaronis obsidionem.* upon 8 June; Philip had arrived upon 20 April.

‘Mate Grifun’ nominaverat; et ante lucanum diei A.D.1191.  
 quartæ stetit machina juxta muros Accaronis,  
 quæ sua proceritate sub se positam despiciebat  
 civitatem; erantque desuper sagittarii jam orto  
 5 sole sine cessatione in Turcos et Thracos mittentes  
 missilia. Petrariæ etiam per competentia loca  
 locatæ crebris jactibus moenia diruebant. His  
 graviores viri talponarii sub terra viam sibi ape-  
 rientes, murorum fundamenta subfodiebant; sed  
 10 et, scalis appositis, per propugnacula scutarii in-  
 gressum securabantur. Discurrebat rex ipse per  
 cuneos, hos instruens, hos arguens, hos instimu-  
 lans, et sic aderat ubique per singulos, ut sibi  
 singulariter deberet ascribi quicquid singuli facie-  
 15 bant. Rex Francorum etiam ipse non segniter  
 egit, qui et apud turrem urbis, quæ Maledicta  
 dicitur, suum qualem potuit fecit assultum.

§ 65. Præerant tunc temporis obsessæ civitati  
 viri illustres, Carracois et Mestocus, post Sala-  
 20 hadinum principes gentilium potentissimi, qui  
 post certamen dierum plurium, cum per inter-  
 pretes deditionem urbis promitterent, et capitum  
 redemptionem, rex Anglorum volebat viribus vin-  
 cere desperatos, volebat et victos pro redem-  
 25 tione corporum capita solvere; sed, agente rege  
 Francorum, indulta est eis tantum vita cum in-  
 demnitate membrorum, si, post deditionem civi-  
 tatis et dationem omnium, quæ possidebant, Crux  
 Dominica redderetur.

30 § 66. Erant omnes in Accarone gentiles pug- Acres taken.  
 natores lectissimi, et erant numero novem millia.  
 Quorum plurimi plurimos aureos deglutientes de  
 ventre faciebant marsupium, quia præscierant  
 quod quicquid apud quemlibet cujuslibet pretii  
 35 foret sibi offensum, sibi si reniteretur in crucem, et

<sup>11</sup> *Securabantur.*] *Scrutabantur, P.* | <sup>17</sup> *Fecit.*] *Faciebat, P.*

A.D.1191. victoribus cederet in rapinam. Egressi igitur universi coram regibus penitus inermes et extra civitatem sine pecunia traduntur in custodias ; et reges cum signis triumphalibus urbem ingressi, totam sibi et suis dimidio partiti sunt cum sup-  
 ellectili, solam sedem pontificalem ex communi dono suus recepit episcopus. Captivis insuper dimidiatis, Mestochus in sortem regis Anglorum sorte devectus est, et Carracois, ut aquæ stilla frigida, cecidit in os æstuans sitientis Philippi 10 regis Francorum.

Richard of-  
 fends the  
 duke of  
 Austria,  
 § 67. Dux Austriae, et ipse unus ex veteribus obsessoribus Accaronis, regem Anglorum secutus a pari in suæ sortis possessionem ; quia, prælato coram se vexillo, visus fuit sibi partem vindicare 15 triumphum ; et, si non de præcepto, de voluntate tamen, regis offensi, dejectum est vexillum ducis in cœnum, et in ejus contumeliam a derisoribus conculcatum. Dux, in regem licet atrociter ardens, quia vindicare non potuit, dissimulavit in- 20 juriam ; et regressus in suæ locum obsidionis in refixam se recepit ea nocte papilionem, et post quam citissime potuit plenus rancoris renavigavit ad propria.

beheads his  
 prisoners,  
 § 68. Missis ex parte captivorum ad Salaha- 25 dinum nunciis pro sui redemptione, cum in redhibitionem sanctæ Crucis nulla posset ethnicus supplicatione deflecti, rex Anglorum, uno tantum Mestoco, quia fuit illustris, ad vitam vendito, omnes suos decapitavit, et erga ipsum Salaha- 30 dinum se idem voluntatis habere sine palpatione renunciavit.

jealousy be-  
 tween him  
 and Philip.  
 § 69. Marchasius quidam de Monte Ferrato, vir leviannigena ab anteactis jam annis occupa-  
 tam Tyrum possederat, cui rex Francorum omnes 35 suos captivos vivos vendidit, et nondum partæ regionis diadema promisit ; sed in hoc casu re-

stitit ei rex Anglorum in faciem. 'Non decet,' A.D. 1191.  
 inquit, 'tui nominis hominem nondum parta largiri vel promittere, sed et si tuæ peregrinationis Christus in causa est, cum regionis hujus caput  
 5 urbium de manu hostili, Hierosolymam, novissime tuleris, Widoni Hierosolymorum regi legitimo regnum sine dilatione seu conditione restitues. Ceterum, si recorderis, Accaronem non obtinuisti sine particeps; unde nec quod duarum est debet  
 10 manus una partiri. Ho, hoh, pro gutture Dei!' Marchisius, felicitatis spei vacuus, Tyrum revertitur, et rex Francorum, qui per marchisium contra invidiosum suum se geminare gestierat decrevit in dies, et id ei accessit ad iugum cauterium consci-  
 15 entia, quod et lixa regis Anglorum splendidius viveret, quam pincerna Francorum. Post dies aliquot confictæ sunt in cubiculo regis Francorum literæ, quibus, velut a magnatibus suis ex Francia missis, rex revocaretur in Franciam. Causa  
 20 supponitur, quæ plus debeat quam justa videri; unigenitum suum post diutinam valitudinem jam desperatum a medicis, Franciam desolandam si, perduto pignore, pater (quod contingere poterat) periret in terra aliena. Habito igitur super his  
 25 inter reges crebro colloquio, cum esset uterque magnus et non possent habitare communiter, Abraham remanente, recessit ab eo Loth. Præstitit etiam rex Francorum per primates suos regi Anglorum juratoriam cautionem pro sibi et suis  
 30 qualibet indemnitatem servanda, donec in regnum suum reverteretur in pace.

§ 70. Concessa est ipsa die et instituta com-  
 munia Londoniensium, in qua universi regni  
 magnates et ipsi etiam ipsius provinciæ episcopi  
 35 jurare coguntur. Nunc primum in indulta sibi conjuratione regno regem deesse cognovit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus, nec præde-

Meeting at  
London.



A.D. 1191. cessor et pater ejus Henricus, pro mille millibus marcis argenti fieri permisisset. Quanta quippe mala ex conjuratione proveniant ex ipsa poterit diffinitione perpendi, quæ talis est,—Communia est tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor sacerdotii. 5

Affairs of  
Palestine.

§ 71. Rex Francorum cum paucis repatrians ab Accarone robur sui exercitus ad nihil agendum reliquit in loco, cui duces dedit Belvacensem episcopum et ducem Burgundiæ. Rex Anglorum, vocatis ad se Francorum ducibus, in primis 10 ipsam Hierosolymam statuit communiter expetendam; sed dissuasio Francorum corda utriusque infregit et infrigidavit exercitus, et regem milite destitutum a proposita metropolis pervasione retinuit. Rex ad ista turbatus, sed non desperatus, 15 jam ab illo die suum a Francis secrevit exercitum, et ad expugnanda castra circa maris oram brachia porrigens, quicquid sibi munitionis obstitit a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem, post dira bella et alta vulnera tamen, obtinuit. Tyrum vero, 20 quia de suæ partis parto non erat, non est dignatus adire.

#### ANNO DOMINI MC.XCII.

A.D. 1192.  
Miscella-  
neous trans-  
actions.

§ 72. PHILIPPUS rex Francorum, relicto sodali suo Ricardo rege Anglorum in terra Hierosoly- 25 mitana inter inimicos crucis Christi, nec copia sanctæ Crucis habita nec Sepulcri, reversus est in Franciam. Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus restituit ecclesiæ suæ magnam partem thesauri, quam, ut præmissum est, appunctuaverat, quinto 30 kalendas Februarii. [28 Jan.] Festivitas Puri-

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<sup>27</sup> *Reversus est.*] Philip left | rived in France in the ensuing  
Richard 31 July, 1191, and ar- | December.

ficationis beatæ Mariæ celebrata est in ipsa Do- A.D. 1192.  
minica Septuagesimæ [1 Feb.] apud Wintoniam.  
Dominica vero nihil dominicum habuit præter  
memoriam ad Vesperas et Matutinas et missam  
5 matutinalem. Una plena hidata terræ apud man-  
sam, quæ dicitur Morstede, de villanagio de Cil-  
tecumba, tradita est cuidam civi Wintoniæ, no-  
mine Pentecuste, tenenda viginti annis pro annuo  
et libero servitio viginti solidorum sine conventus  
10 conniventia.

§ 73. Regina Alienor de Neustria transfretavit  
in Angliam, et applicuit apud Portesmue tertio  
idus Februarii. [11 Feb.] Cancellarius adiit  
regem Francorum, et de sublatis sibi in Flandria  
15 facultatibus querelam deposuit coram ipso, sed  
nihil ibi amplius habuit, quam quod ridiculos ho-  
mines facit.

Rex Francorum totis diebus et noctibus fabri-  
cari fecit omne genus armorum per universum  
20 regnum suum, et civitates et castra munivit, ut  
putabatur, in præparationem pugnae adversus  
regem Anglorum, si de peregrinatione reverte-  
retur. Quibus in terris Anglorum regis cognitis,  
constabularii ejus in Normannia, et Cenomannia,  
25 et Andegavia, et Turonia, et Biturica, et Pic-  
tavia, et Vasconia, etiam ipsi quicquid locorum  
muniri poterat, omnibus modis munierunt. Sed  
et filius regis Navarorum in irritationem Fran-  
corum provinciam circa Tolosam depopulatus  
30 est. Quidam præpositus regis Francorum, volens  
major fieri patribus suis, in confinio Neustriæ et  
Franciæ, ubi nunquam munitio fuerat, castellum  
exstruxit; quod, mox dum ædificabatur, Nor-  
manni in impetu naturalis furoris sui a funda-

Proceedings  
in France.

<sup>5</sup> *Una . . . conniventia.*] This Cambridge manuscript.  
passage is found only in the

A.D.1192. mentis eruerunt, et ipsum præfectum frustatim laniaverunt.

Queen Eli-  
nor interests  
herself in fa-  
vour of the  
inhabitants  
of Ely.

§ 74. Matrōna merito memoranda multotiens regina Alienor, appendentia quædam suæ doti tuguria infra Eliensem diocesim visitavit. Cui 5 venerunt obviam ex omnibus vicis et villulis, quacunque transibat, viri cum mulieribus et parvulis non omnes extremæ conditionis, populus lacrimans et lacrimabilis, nudi pedes, illoti vestes, inculti capillos. Loquuntur lacrimis, quibus præ 10 dolore verba defecerant, nec erat opus interprete, cum plus quam volebant dicere patenti pagina legeretur. Humana corpora passim per agros inhumata jacebant, quia sustulerat eis suus episcopus sepulturam. Regina tantæ causam severi- 15 tatis intelligens, ut erat multum misericors, virorum in mortuis miserata miseriam, mox relinquens propria et aliena negotia curans, ivit Londoniam, egit, imo exegit, ab archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, ut confiscata episcopi prædia episcopo 20 redderentur, et idem episcopus nomine cancellariæ per provinciam Rothomagensem a denunciata in eum clamaretur excommunicatione solutus. Et quis esset tam ferus aut ferreus, quem in sua vota femina illa non flecteret? Nunciavit 25 etiam nihil oblita in Neustriam domino Eliensi impetratam sibi suæ reipublicæ et familiaris restitutionem in Anglia, et coegit eum, quam in fiscarios tulerat, sententiam revocare. Quievit itaque inter inquietos, mediante regina, manifesta vex- 30 atio, sed, nisi utriusque cor creperet, ex veteri contractus odio mentis habitus mutari non potuit.

John, when  
about to em-  
bark for Nor-  
mandy,

§ 75. Comes Johannes, missis nunciis ad Portum Hamonis, mandavit præsto parari sibi navigium, ut putabatur, ad regem Francorum defec- 35

<sup>35</sup> *Defecturus.*] Philip offered | riage, with whom he promised  
his sister Alice to John in mar- | to bestow Normandy and all the

turus ; sed regina, mater ejus, metuens ne levis A.D.1192.  
 animi adolescens consiliis Francorum aliquid molitum iret in dominum suum et fratrem, anxia mente pertractat qua posset arte filii propositum  
 5 impedire. Movebat nimirum et mordebat materna viscera in mentem reducta priorum filiorum conditio, et immaturus, peccatis exigentibus, utriusque decessus. Volebat vim satisfacere, ut saltem inter novissimos liberorum fide servata,  
 10 felicius mater in fata concederet, quam patrem illorum contigit præcessisse. Convocatis itaque universis majoribus regni, primo apud Windelesoram, is prevented by his mother. secundo apud Oxoniam, tertio apud Londonias, quarto apud Wintoniam, vix propriis lacrimis et  
 15 magnatum precibus potuit obtinere, ut non transfretaret ad tempus. Comes igitur propositæ protectionis frustratus effectum, fecit istac quod potuit, et a constabulariis regis de Windlesora et Walingford, ad se secreto vocatis, castella suscepit,  
 20 et recepta suis juratis sibi custodienda delegavit.

§ 76. Mandato Rothomagensis archiepiscopi Council held at London, convenerunt columnæ ecclesiæ, legum librarii, apud Londonias, inter regni negotia, ut sæpius, de aliquo aut de nihilo locuturi. Omnium erat  
 25 una voluntas convenire comitem Johannem de præsumptione castellorum ; sed, quia se singuli sibi invicem non credebant, quisquis sibi, quia alterum metuens, vicario potius quam proprio volebat ore proferri quæstionem. Ad hoc igitur  
 30 omnibus et hoc animo verba ventilantibus, Æacus unus abest, ad quem simul universi convenerant conveniendum ; sed et dum inter agendum de olim Cancellario casualiter tractaretur, ecce ! iterum Crispinus adest. Ingrediuntur auditorium nuncii

English possessions in France ; Queen Elianor and Walter, arch-  
 an offer which John was willing | bishop of Rouen.  
 to accept, but was prevented by | <sup>6</sup> *Impedire.*] Præpedire, P.

A.D. 1192. Cancellarii, jam iterum legati, salutantes reginam, quæ præsens aderat, et reliquos universos, quos simul forte offenderant, ex parte domini sui in Angliam pridie apud Dovram appulsi feliciter. Ipsum fore ministerium legationis suæ exsecuturum 5 novissima mandatorum clausa exclusit. Diu conticuere omnes, intentique ora tenebant nimis attoniti. Tandem in vota venit omnium, ut ipsum suppliciter advocarent in dictatorem et dominum, quem judicare venerant ut perjurum et 10 transgressorem in Dominum. Ad comitem itaque tunc morantem apud Walingeford et ridentem illorum conventicula mittuntur multi ex magnatibus et multociens, quorum fuit unus Echion. Humiliter et sine ruga rogant ut festinet occursare 15 capro. 'Domine,' inquit, 'cornu fert ille, caveto!'

at which, by  
the influence  
of Earl John,

§ 77. Comes non multum motus diu se reverenter rogari sustinuit, tandemque delato sibi satiatus honore, cum novissimis precatoribus, quos 20 plus dilexerat, venit Londonias; respondere ad omne quare, si quæri contigerit, sufficienter instructus. Assurgit et blanditur curia venienti, ætatis et ordinis ordine non servato, dum quisque, qui prius potest, prior occurrit et se cupit ante 25 videri, volens placere principi, quia principibus placuisse juris non ultima laus est. Consedere duces. De castris nulla fit mentio; de Cancellario tota fuit querela et consultatio. Si comes consulat, omnes eum proscribere sunt parati. 30 Comitem in consensum modis omnibus emollire satagunt, at illis dextra jacebat bellua. Comes respondere rogatus breviter inquit, 'Cancellarius iste nullius vestrum, nec simul omnium, minas metuet nec mendicabit amorem, si me saltem solum 35 mereatur habere propitium. Septingentas libras argenti mihi daturus est infra septimam diem, si

inter vos et illum me non immersero. Vos vi- A.D. 1192.  
 detis quod denariis egeam. Sapientibus satis the Chancellor  
 dictum est.' Dixerat, et secessit, relicta in medio lor is fined.  
 suæ propositionis conclusione. Arctavit in arcto  
 5 posita curia consilium, sanum videtur singulis  
 palpare virum plus quam pollicitis, dare placet  
 vel commodare pecuniam, sed non de proprio,  
 tandemque totum ergo cadit in absentis ærarium.  
 Creduntur comiti de fisco per fiscarios quin-  
 10 gentæ libræ argenti sterlingorum, et recipiuntur  
 ad placitum literæ in Cancellarium. Nec di-  
 latio; scribit regina, scribit clerus, scribit popu-  
 lus; omnes unanimiter mandant Cancellario pro  
 salute, ut saltum faciat, ut sine mora mare trans-  
 15 eat, nisi pruriat audire rumores, nisi velit convi-  
 vari scutariis.

§ 78. Cancellarius ad mandatorum inclemen- His reflec-  
 tiam hæsit exsanguis, et sic palluit ut nudis qui tions.  
 pressit calcibus anguem. Recedens vero hoc  
 20 solum virile respondisse refertur, 'Noverint om-  
 nes qui me persequuntur, quantum videbunt quem  
 pupugerunt. Non omni, ut æstimant, sum de-  
 stitutus consilio. Est mihi purgatam crebro qui  
 personat aurem scriptis veracibus. "Quamdiu  
 25 peregrinus sum," inquit, "patienter porta, quæ pa-  
 teris. Omnis terra forti patria est, experto crede  
 durato, et rebus animum servato secundis. Mecum  
 tibi grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora.  
 Insperatus adveniam et triumphabo de hostibus  
 30 meis, et rursus in interdicto tibi, et modo mihi non  
 parenti, regno meo, mea te faciet victoria civem;  
 forsane et hoc olim meminisse juvabit."

§ 79. Quia Wintonia non debuit debita sibi Story of a  
 mercede privari pro servata, ut in capite Libri boy killed by  
 35 præpositum est, pace Judæis, Wintonienses Ju- the Jews of  
 dæi civitatis suæ (Judaico more) studentes ho- Winchester.  
 nori, etsi factum forte defuerit, plurimis facti

A.D. 1192. indiciis celebrem sibi famam de martyrizato a se in Wintonia puero confecerunt. Casus erat huiusmodi. Puerum quemdam Christianum, artis sutoriae sciolum, Judæus quidam in familiare familiæ suæ consciverat ministerium. Non ibi continuum residebat ad opus, nec magnum aliquid semel sinebatur explere, ne provisam sibi cædem probaret cohabitatio; et ut, pro modico labore melius ibi quam pro multo alibi remuneratus, domum dæmonis, donis ejus et dolis illectus, libentius frequentaret. Fuerat autem Francus genere, pupillus et orphanus, abjectæ conditionis et paupertatis extremæ. Has huiusmodi miserias in Francia male miseratus quidam Judæus Francigena crebris ei monitis persuasit, ut Angliam peteret, terram lacte et melle manantem; Anglos liberales prædicavit et dapsiles; ibi nullum, qui niteretur ad probitatem, pauperem moriturum. Puer promptulus, ut naturaliter Francorum est, ad velle quicquid volueris, assumpto secum comite quodam coætaneo suo et compatriota, ad peregrine proficiscendum præcinctus est; nihil in manibus habens præter baculum, nihil in sytarchia præter subulam.

§ 80. Valedixit Judæo suo; cui Judæus, 'Vade,' ait, 'viriliter. Deus patrum meorum deducat te sicut desidero.' Et, impositis manibus super caput ejus, ac si esset hircus emissarius, post stridores quosdam gutturis et tacitas imprecationes, jam de præda securus, adjecit, 'Forti animo esto, obliviscere populum tuum et terram tuam, quia omnis terra forti patria est, ut piscibus æquor, ut volucris vacuo quicquid in orbe patet. Angliam ingressus si Londonias veneris, celeriter pertransibis; multum enim mihi displicet illa polis. Omne hominum genus in illam confluit ex omni natione, quæ sub cælo est; omnis gens

Character of  
London,

sua vitia et suos mores urbi intulit. Nemo in A.D. 1192.  
 ea sine crimine vivit ; non omnis in ea vicus non  
 abundat tristibus obscenis ; eo ibi quisquis melior  
 est, quo fuerit major in scelere ; non ignoro quem  
 5 instruo. Habes supra tuam ætatem fervorem  
 ingenii, frigiditatem memoriæ, ex utrinque con-  
 trariis, temperantiam rationis. Nihil de te mihi  
 metuo, nisi cum male viventibus commoreris ;  
 ex convictu enim mores formantur. Esto, esto.  
 10 Londonias venies. Ecce ! prædico tibi, quicquid  
 in singulis, quicquid in universis, partibus mundi  
 mali vel malitiæ est, in una illa civitate reperies.  
 Lenonum choros non adeas, ganeorum gregibus  
 non immiscearis ; vita thalum et tesseram, the-  
 15 atrum et tabernam. Plures ibi quam in tota  
 Gallia thrasones offendes, gnathonum autem in-  
 finitus est numerus. Histriones, scurræ, gla-  
 briones, garamantes, palpones, pusiones, molles,  
 mascularii, ambubaia, pharmacopolæ, crissariæ,  
 20 phitonissæ, vultuariæ, noctivagæ, magi, mimi,  
 mendici, balathrones, hoc genus omne totas re-  
 plevare domos. Ergo, si nolueris habitare cum  
 turpibus, non habitabis Londoniis. Non loquor  
 in literatos vel religiosos, sive Judæos ; quamvis  
 25 et ex ipsa cohabitatione malorum, minus eos ibi  
 quam alibi crediderim esse perfectos.

§ 81. 'Nec eo pergit oratio, ut in nullam te  
 recipias civitatem, cum meo consilio nusquam tibi  
 sit nisi in urbe manendum, refert tamen in qua.  
 30 Si igitur circa Cantuariam appuleris, iter habebis <sup>Canterbury,</sup>  
 perdere ; si vel per eam transieris. Tota est illa  
 perditorum collectio ad suum nescio quem nuper  
 deificatum, qui fuerat Cantuariæ archipresbyter,  
 quod passim præ inopia panis et ocio per plateas  
 35 moriuntur ad solem. Rovecestria et Cicestria <sup>Rochester,  
Chichester,</sup>  
 viculi sunt, et cur civitates dici debeant præter  
 sedes flaminum nihil obtundunt. Oxonia vix <sup>Oxford,</sup>



A.D. 1192. suos clericos, non dico satiat, sed sustentat.  
 Exeter, Exonia eodem farre reficit homines et jumen-  
 Bath, ta. Bathonia, in imis vallium in crasso nimis  
 aere et vapore sulphureo posita, imo deposita,  
 est ad portas inferi. Sed nec in arctois sedem 5  
 Worcester, tibi legeris urbibus, Wigornia, Cestria, Here-  
 Chester, fordia, propter Walenses vitæ prodigos. Ebo-  
 Hereford, racum Scottis abundat, foedis et infidis hominibus  
 York, vel homuncionibus. Eliensis pagus perpetuo pu-  
 Ely, tidus est pro circumfusus paludibus. In Dunelmo, 10  
 Durham, Northwico, sive Lincolnia, perpaucos de poten-  
 Norwich, tibus de tua conditione, nullum penitus audies  
 Lincoln, Romane loquentem. Apud Bristollum nemo est  
 Bristol, qui non sit vel fuerit saponarius, et omnis Fran-  
 cus saponarios amat ut stercorarios. Post urbes, 15  
 omne forum, villa, vel oppidum, incolas habet  
 rudes et rusticos. Omni insuper tempore pro ta-  
 libus Cornubienses habeto, quales in Francia  
 Cornwall, nosti nostros Flandrenses haberi. Ceterum  
 regio ipsa generaliter in rore cœli et in pingue- 20  
 dine terræ tota beatissima est; in singulis etiam  
 locis aliqui boni sunt, set multo minus in omnibus  
 quam in una Wintonia.  
 Winchester.

§ 82. ' Hæc est in partibus illis Judæorum Hie-  
 rosolyma, in hac sola perpetua pace fruuntur, hæc 25  
 est schola bene vivere et valere volentium. Hic  
 fiunt homines, hic satis est panis et vini pro ni-  
 hilo. Sunt in ea tantæ monachi misericordiæ et  
 mansuetudinis, clerus consilii et libertatis, cives  
 civilitatis et fidei, feminæ pulchritudinis et pudici- 30  
 citiæ, quod parum me retinet quin ego vadam illuc  
 cum talibus Christianis fieri Christianus. Ad  
 istam te dirigo civitatem, urbem urbium, matrem  
 omnium, et omnibus meliorem. Unum est vitium  
 et illud solum, cui de consuetudine nimis indulget. 35  
 Salva pace literatorum dixerim et Judæorum,  
 Wentani mentiuntur ut vigiles, sed in fabulis fa-

- ciendis. Nusquam enim sub coelo de tam facili A.D.1192.  
tot rumores falsi fabricantur, ut ibi; alias, per  
omnia sunt veraces. Multa haberem adhuc et  
de meis negotiis tibi dicere, sed ne forte non ca-  
5 pias, vel obliviscaris, literulas has familiaris mei  
Judæi manibus inseres, credo quia et ab illo ali-  
quando remuneraberis.' Scripta brevis erat He-  
braica. Judæus peroraverat, et puer omnia in-  
terpretatus in bonum pervenit Wintoniam.
- 10 § 83. Subula sibi sicut et sodali suo satisfecit  
ad victum, et male parta per literas Judæi sæva  
suavitas et blæsa benignitas ad solatium. Ubi-  
cumque diebus pauperculi operarentur ab invicem,  
vel comederent, singulis noctibus in uno unius  
15 vetulæ veteri tugurio in uno lectulo quiescebant.  
Dies succedunt diebus, menses mensibus; et  
hujusmodi pueri nostri, quem tam curiose huc-  
usque diduximus, adesse per abesse festinant  
tempora. Crucis adoratæ dies advenerat, et puer  
20 ipso die apud Judæum suum operans, quocumque  
modo de medio factus, non comparuit. Erat quippe  
proximum pascha, dies festus Judæorum. Socius  
illius vespere non revertentis ad cubiculum mi-  
ratus absentiam, plurimis ipsa nocte terretur  
25 insomniis. Quæsitum diebus aliquot per omnes  
urbis angulos cum non invenisset, convenit Ju-  
dæum simpliciter, si suum quoquam misisset nu-  
tritium; quem cum præter solitum de tam be-  
nigno pridie vehementer sensisset acerbum, ver-  
30 borum et vultus varietate notata, incanduit illico,  
et, ut erat vocis acutæ et mirabilis eloquentiæ,  
statim prorupit in jurgia, magnis eum de subla-

<sup>21</sup> *De medio factus.*] Many Jews were about this time ac-  
cused of similar crimes, and the  
odium thus incurred afforded a  
convenient opportunity for per-  
secuting and plundering that na-  
tion. See Mabill. Ann. Bened.  
lxxviii. 99, Acta Sanctor. Mar.  
iii. 588, 591.

A.D. 1192. tione socii sui clamoribus urgens. 'Tu,' inquit, 'fili sordidæ meretricis, tu latro, tu traditor, tu diabole, tu crucifixisti socium meum. Hei mihi! modo quare non habeo vires hominis! Ego te manibus meis dilaniarem.' Audiuntur in platea 5 clamores vociferantis in æde, concurrunt undique Judæi et Christiani. Puerulus instat, et jam pro turba constantior, interpellatis præsentibus, coepit allegare pro socio. 'O vos,' ait, 'viri qui convenistis, videte si est dolor sicut dolor 10 meus. Iste Judæus diabolus est, iste cor meum de ventre meo rapuit, iste unicum sodalem meum jugulavit, præsumo etiam quod manducavit. Filius quidam diaboli, Judæus, Francigena, nec intelligo, nec experior, Judæus ille dedit sodali meo 15 literas mortis suæ ad hominem istum. Ad hanc urbem venit inductus, imo seductus. Judæo huic sæpe servivit, et in domo ejus novissime visus est.' Non defuit ei testis ad aliqua, quantum et femina Christiana, quæ, contra Canones, in eadem 20 domo nutrierat Judæulos. Constanter jurabat se vidisse puerum in penum Judæi descendere sine regressu. Judæus inficiatur, res refertur ad judices. Deficiunt accusatores; puer quia infra ætatem erat, femina quia infamem eam fecerat 25 Judæorum ministerium. Judæus obtulit purgationem conscientiae propter infamiam. Judicibus aurea placuit. Dedit Phinees et placavit, et cessavit quassatio.

The bishop  
of Chester  
persecutes  
the monks  
of Coventry.

§ 84. Cestrensis episcopus, qui, ex odio reli- 30 gionis, de Coventria monachos ejecerat, e fundamentis evertit quidquid officinarum fuerat in cœnobio, ut ex alterata loci facie omnis apud posteros præteritorum memoria tolleretur. Sed et ne ruina maceriarum suum quandoque loque- 35 retur auctorem, de præsto inventa est et sine pretio parta materia in ecclesia loci, quæ perfecta

non fuerat, cœpit ædificare. Latomis etiam et ce- A.D. 1192.  
mentariis de monasterii suppellectili stipendia in-  
stituit. Duo præcipua monachorum maneria sele-  
git in usus proprios, hoc ad abutendum eis ordine  
5 constituto, ut ubicumque comederet, speciale ali-  
quid de prædictorum maneriorum pretio compara-  
tum sibi præsentaretur ad esum, gloriaturus de  
victoria, ac si de monachorum, quos vicio vicerat,  
visceribus vesceretur. Reliquos vero eorum omnes  
10 redditus partitus est in præbendas, quarum quas-  
dam Romanæ perpetuo adtitulatas ecclesiæ dedit  
appropriatas quibusdam Cardinalibus Sedis Apos-  
tolicæ, designans eos et eorum in eosdem titulos  
canonicos successores, ecclesiæ Coventrensis esse  
15 canonicos, ut si qua forte de transactis coram  
Summo Pontifice fieret retractatio, Curiam to-  
tam in suæ partis defensionem faceret proniorem;  
alias præbendas aliis contulit, sed nullam ulli,  
quem pro certo non noverat nullius religionis esse  
20 cultorem. Ædificaverat certatim etiam absentes  
canonici circa ecclesiam ampla et excelsa di-  
versoria, ad usus forte proprios, si vel semel in  
vita locum visitandi causam casus offerret.  
Nullus ibi ex præbendariis, sicut nec alibi fa-  
25 ciunt, religiose resedit, sed pauperibus vicariis  
ad insultandum Deo modica mercede conductis,  
pro foribus palatiorum facientes magnalia, sanc-  
tum eis chorum victosque Penates et nudos ec-  
clesiæ parietes crediderunt.

30 § 85. Hæc est vere vera religio, hanc omnis  
imitari et æmulari deberet ecclesia. Canonico  
seculari ab ecclesia sua, quamdiu libuerit, licebit  
abesse, et patrimonium Christi ubi, et quando,  
et in quascumque voluerit voluptates absumere.  
35 Id tantum provideant, ut audiat vociferatio  
frequens in domo Domini. Si ad fores talium  
pulsaverit advena, si pauper clamaverit, respon-

A.D. 1192. debet qui pro foribus habitat, (et ipse satis pauper vicarius,) 'Transite, et alibi alimoniam quærite, quia dominus domus domi non est.' Hæc est illa gloriosa clericorum religio, cujus gratia Cestrensis episcopus monachos suos de Coventreia 5 expulit, primus hominum tantum nefas ausus admittere. Causa clericorum irregulariter regularium, scilicet, canonicorum, ad placitum monachos eliminavit; monachos, qui non vicario, sed ore proprio laudabant Dominum, qui habitabant et ambulabant in domo Domini cum consensu omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, qui præter victum et vestitum nihil terrenum noverant, quorum panis semper præsto fuit pauperi, quorum porta cuilibet viatori quolibet tempore patuit: nec tamen taliter placuerunt episcopo, qui nunquam dilexit monachos vel monachatum. Homo dicacitatis amaræ, qui et si aliquando alicui parceret, nunquam monachos mordere quievit. O offa solida et insorbibilis monachus! multa millia maledicorum bolus iste strangulavit, fuitque male morientibus pro viatico. Si quoties mordetur et roditur monachus absorberetur, ante plurima secula tota fuisset absorpta religio. Omni tempore et loco, sive serio 15 sive joco loqueretur episcopus, aliqua pars orationis ejus erat monachus. Nec eum monachorum suorum saturavit ejectio; sed semper sibi similis postea, sicut prius, monachum masticabat. Sed qui de monachis non loqui non potuit, ne notam detrectoris incurreret, si in absentia monachorum carperet monachatum, instituit monachum aliquem in curia sua secum habere manentem, ut, præsentem monacho et audiente, jucundior de monachis fieret fabulatio. Assumpsit 25 itaque in quasi capellanum quendam monachum vix adultum, professum tamen apud Burtunam, quem et ad ludibrium religionis circumduxit

multo tempore. Dolor nimius! Etiam in an-<sup>A.D.1192.</sup>  
 gelis Dei reperitur iniquitas. Monachus sciens  
 et prudens deductus ad delusionem, frontem suam  
 frontem fecit meretricis, ut monachos carpi mo-  
 5 nachus non erubesceret. Heu, quanta vagandi  
 et equitandi libido. Audite me et exspectate  
 paulisper; videbitis qualiter equitatoris hujus  
 desierit equitatio. Die quadam apud Coven-  
 treiam episcopo super operarios suos stante, suus  
 10 monachus sibi collateratus hærebat. In quem  
 episcopus familiariter innixus, 'Nonne,' inquit,  
 'mi monache, tuo etiam iudicio decet et expedit, ut  
 tantæ tantus decor ecclesiæ, tam decens ædifi-  
 cium, deorum sit potius quam dæmoniorum?'  
 15 Hæsitanti monacho in obscuritate verborum, ad-  
 jecit, 'Ego,' ait, 'clericos meos deos nomino,  
 monachos dæmonia.' Moxque manus dexteræ  
 digito in astantes sibi clericos extento, inquit,  
 'Ego dico, dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes.'  
 20 Rursumque reversus in lævam, ad monachum in-  
 tulit, 'Vos autem, monachi, sicut dæmones mo-  
 riemini, et sicut unus et primus de principibus  
 vestris in infernum cadetis, quia vivi diaboli  
 estis. Certe, si me contingeret pro mortuo mo-  
 25 nacho celebrare, quod valde invitatus facerem, ego  
 corpus ejus et animam non Deo, sed diabolo,  
 commendarem.' Monachus, qui in loco mona-  
 chis ablato monachorum contumeliam non re-  
 fellit, quia in tali casu siluit, perpetuum sibi  
 30 meruit imponi silentium. Repente enim lapis  
 lapsus de fastigio ecclesiæ monachum adhæren-  
 tem episcopo excerebravit, episcopo ad majus  
 iudicium incolome reservato.

§ 86. Rex Anglorum Ricardus in conquiendo  
 35 regionem circa Hierosolymam jam complevit bien-  
 nium, ita quod de nulla terrarum suarum quic-  
 quam se juvaminis fuerat obsecutum. Nec

Richard's  
exploits in  
Palestine.

A.D. 1192. ipse frater ejus unicus et uterinus Johannes comes Moretonii, nec Justiciarii ejus, nec magnates reliqui, quicquam visi sunt de transmittendis illi suis redditibus; sed neque de redditu illius cogitare. Oratio tamen fiebat sine intermissione ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo. Minuebatur in dies in Terra Promissionis regis exercitus, et præter mulctatos gladio, multa millia per menses singulos ex nocturni frigoris et diurni fervoris intemperantia nimis proxima moriebantur in populo. Ut videbatur, moriendum ibi fuit omnibus, eligeretur a quolibet utrum imbellis, an moriretur in bello. Ex adverso, gentilium robur vehementer invaluit, quibus ex casu Christianorum crevit audacia, quorum certis vicibus recenti milite reficiebatur exercitus, quibus erat aer natura, locus patria, labor sanitas, parcitas medicina. In Neustriis, e diverso, fiebat adversum, quod adversariis ferebat emolumentum. Si quippe nostri vel semel in septimana parcius viverent, septem septimanis postea minus validi redderentur. Epulabatur gens ex Francis et Anglis promiscua quantocumque constaret pretium dum durabat quotidie splendide, et (salva Francorum reverentia) usque ad nauseam; Anglorumque memorabili more servato perenniter, sub ipsis etiam lituis et clangore tubæ vel buccinæ debita devotione inhiabat calicibus effæcandis. Mercatores provinciæ, qui castris invehebant victualia, mirabantur ex miraculi dissuetudine, et credere quod videbant verum esse vix poterant, dum populus unus, et is parvus numero, triplum panis absumeret et vini centuplum ad id unde sustentabantur plures gentilium populi, et quilibet innumerabilis. Et facta est merito super emeritos manus Domini. Tantam ingluviem tanta sequebatur inedia, ut vix dentes digitis

Condition of  
his army.

parcerent, dum manus minus solito ad insumen- A.D.1192.  
dum faucibus offerebant. His calamitatibus et  
aliis, quæ graves et multæ fuerant, multo gra-  
vior accessit regis adversitas.

- 5 § 87. Rex lecto nimis æger excipitur; typhus Richard's illness.  
erat continuus; medici majorem hemitritæum mus-  
sitabant. Quibus et primo desperantibus, dif-  
fusa est de domo regis in castra dira desperatio.  
Rarus erat in multis millibus, qui non medi-  
10 taretur diffugium, secutaque fuisset dispersionis  
aut deditionis suprema confusio, nisi Hubertus  
Walteri episcopus Sarisburiensis Concilium ci-  
tius coegisset. Obtentum est allegationibus va-  
lidis, ut non dilaberetur exercitus, donec a Sa-  
15 lahadino postularentur induciæ. Omnes armati  
starent in acie solidius solito, et minaci vultu  
tegentes mentis ignaviam præliandi mentirentur  
affectum. Nemo de regis loqueretur incommodo,  
ne tanti doloris arcanum dilaberetur ad hostes;  
20 sciebatur enim certissime quod Salahadinus uni-  
versi minus exercitus quam solius regis metuebat  
occursum; quem si decubuisse cognosceret, jam  
de stercore boum lapidaret Francigenas, et po-  
tatores lectissimos potione pavoris exebriaret  
25 Angligenas.

- § 88. Descendit interea ad videndum regem, Saffatin's speech in praise of Richard.  
ut de more solebat, quidam Saffatinus gentilis,  
Salahadini frater, vir militiæ veteris, multum ci-  
vilis et sapiens, quem regis magnanimitas et  
30 munificentia in sui amorem et suæ favorem partis  
illexerant. Ministris regis solito minus hilariter  
illi applaudentibus, et ad regis colloquium non  
admittentibus, 'Ego,' inquit, 'per interpretem  
vos altum dolere sentio, nec causam nescio.  
35 Meus amicus, rex vester, infirmus est, et ideo  
mihi fores ejus clauditis.' Et totis medullis re-  
solutus in lacrimas, 'Deus,' inquit, 'Christiano-



1192. rum, si Deus es, talem virum tuis tam neces-  
 sarium tam præpropere non patieris occumbere.' In  
 consensum receptus et ista locutus est. 'In  
 veritate prænuncio quod si, rebus ut nunc sunt  
 æ habentibus, vir iste decesserit, vos omnes 5  
 Christiani peribitis, et tota hæc regio nostra  
 æt in posterum sine litigio. Nunquid metue-  
 mus illum validum regem Franciæ, qui prius-  
 quam veniret in aciem victus est? cujus quic-  
 quid virum tres anni contulerant trium mensium 10  
 ære tempus absumsit. Huc pro nihilo rever-  
 teretur ulterius, quoniam hoc pro vero semper  
 habemus auspicio, ut quos in primo (non calide  
 dico, sed naturaliter) sentimus ignavos, semper  
 deinceps inveniamus deteriores. Sed rex iste 15  
 inter omnes Christiani nominis principes, quos  
 totius mundi teres circulus ambit, solus honore  
 ducis et regis nomine dignus; quia bene incepit  
 et melius profecit et in optimo statu consum-  
 mabitur, si modicum vobis duraverit. 20

§ 29. 'Non est de novo quod timeamus Angli-  
 genus, quoniam et patrem istius talem nobis fama  
 tulerat, ut si vel inermis nostras venisset in  
 partes, omnes fugissemus armati, quibus nec ab  
 eo fugari videretur inglorium. Ille timor noster, 25  
 vir suo tempore singularis, occubuit; sed, more  
 phœnicis, se millies meliorem reparavit in filio.  
 Sed nec nos latuit, etiam genitore vivente, Ri-  
 cardus iste quis fuerit; habuimus enim omnibus  
 diebus patris ejus nostros inspectores in partibus 30  
 illis, qui nobis et regis actus et filiorum suorum  
 ortus et occasus nunciabant. Iste præ omnibus  
 generibus suis merito probitatis a patre dilectus,  
 et ante fratres priores natu populis regendis  
 prælatus est. Nec nos latuit quod dux Aquitaniæ 35  
 æt tyrannos provinciæ, avis et atavis suis  
 incommensurabiles, quanta virtutis celeritate protriverit,

quam metuendus et ipsi regi Franciæ et omnibus A.D. 1192.  
 circa fines suos exstiterit terrarum rectoribus.  
 Nullus de suo sibi , ille vero terminos suos  
 semper dilatavit in proximos. Nec nos latuit  
 5 quod duorum fratrum suorum, unum jam in re-  
 gem coronatum, alterum jam Minoris Britanniae  
 comitem, quia se contra beatum patrem erexe-  
 rant, non destitit jure Martis impetere; donec  
 diuturnitate vexationis affectos æterna requie  
 10 donavit utrumque. Omnes etiam, ut magis mi-  
 remini, civitates partium vestrarum ex nomine  
 novimus; sed et regem patriæ istius non igno-  
 ramus apud Cenomannos suorum preditione de-  
 victum, apud Chinorum mortuum, apud Fontem  
 15 Ebrardi fuisse sepultum.

§ 90. 'Taceo, non ex ignorantia, quis se fecerit  
 desideratissimæ nobis tantæ necis auctorem. O  
 si Ricardus iste, quem quamvis diligam tamen  
 timeo, si fuisset factus de medio, quam modicum  
 20 jam metueremus, quam pro nihilo haberemus,  
 illum novissimum filiorum, qui domi dormit in  
 ordeo. Non est nobis incognitum quod Ricar-  
 dus, qui patri magno major successit in regnum,  
 in ipso mox coronationis suæ anno adversus nos  
 25 iter arripuit. Non erat nobis ignotus, et ante  
 profectionem suam, numerus navium ejus et mi-  
 litum. Scivimus, et dum res agebatur, quanta  
 celeritate munitissimam Siciliæ civitatem Mes-  
 sanam ceperit expugnatam; et quamvis nullus  
 30 nostrum id crederet, tamen timor noster auctus  
 est, et falsos veris addebat fama timores.

§ 91. 'Processit virtus nescia stare loco per  
 incircuitum regionem, et ubique virtutum reliquit

<sup>3</sup> *Sibi , ille.*] In both MSS. a blank space is left between these words.

of Henry the Second, who died 11 June, 1183.

<sup>6</sup> *Coronatum.*] Henry, the son

<sup>6</sup> *Alterum.*] Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, died 19 August, 1186.

A.D. 1192. insignia. Dubius serebatur inter nos sermo de homine, utrum solam Deo suo Terram Promissionis, an simul sibi totum mundum subjugare pararet. De captione Cypri quis digna referet? Certe, si insula Cypri Ægypto penitus esset con- 5 termina, et frater meus Salahadinus subjugasset eam infra decennium, nomen ejus inter nomina numinum numeraretur in gentibus. Ex quo autem jam in ultimo propositum novimus quicquid sibi resistebat obruere, liquefacta sunt cor- 10 da nostra, sicut album gelu liquecit ad appropinquantis solis aspectum. Dicebatur quippe de eo, quod et hostes suos vivos comederet. Quod si mox ipsa adventus ejus die ad Accaronem non est apertis ultro januis receptus 15 in civitatem, solus timor erat in causa. Non tuendæ civitatis amore, sed ex promissorum sibi tormentorum horrore et vitæ desperatione pugnabant tanto virilius quanto vecordius, hoc plus morte metuentes, hoc modis omnibus mo- 20 lientes ne morirentur inulti. Et hoc non ex obstinatione, sed ex nostræ fidei religione fecerunt. Credimus enim inultorum umbras errare semper, et omnis fore quietis expertes. Ecquid tamen profuit infelicibus temeritas et timiditas? victi vi- 25 ribus et ad deditionem timore coacti leviori quam speraverant morte mulctati sunt; et adhuc, pro pudor gentibus! usque hodie umbræ eorum erroribus aguntur inultæ. Ego juro vobis per Deum maximum, quoniam si postquam Acca- 30 rone potitus est, continuo Hierosolymam duxisset exercitum, infra totos terræ Christianorum terminos nec unum reperisset ex nostris, imo dedissemus ei gazas inæstimabiles, ut non progrediretur, ut nos non persequeretur ulterius. 35

<sup>9</sup> *In ultimo.]* vel primo, *MS. Cott. marg.*

§ 92. 'Sed, Deo gratias! oneratus fuit rege A.D. 1192. Francorum, et per eum retardatus, sicut mulilegus cui malleus pendet ad caudam. Ceterum nos etiam ejus æmuli nihil in Ricardo reperimus  
 5 quod possumus carpere nisi virtutem, nihil odire nisi Martis peritiam. Sed cum infirmo pugnare quæ gloria? Et si voluissem hodie mane vos omnes et illum capitalem tulisse sententiam, nunc miserendum est nobis propter vestri regis in-  
 10 commodum; vel pacem perpetuam cum fratre meo vobis adquiram, vel ad minus inducias bonas et diuturnas. Quousque autem revertar ad vos, nullus vestrum inde loquatur ad regem, ne si motus fuerit ægrotet gravius, quoniam tam  
 15 grandis et grossi cordis est ut, etsi modo mori debeat, non consentiet in transactionem, nisi suam partem viderit meliorem.' Eloqui plura voluit, sed perorare non pertulit lingua languens et præ dolore deficiens, unde et in complosas  
 20 manus capite reclinato, flevit uberius.

§ 93. Episcopus Sarisburiensis et quæ aderat familiarior regis familia, secum super his habita  
 deliberatione secretius, velut in exosas et non desideratas inducias consenserunt, quas prius  
 25 quocunque mercari pretio proposuerant. Dextris igitur datis et receptis, Saffatinus, lota facie et dissimulata mœstitia, ad Salahadinum reversus est Hierosolymam; ibique, coacto coram fratre concilio, vix post diem septimum decimum validis  
 30 allegationibus valuit ad dandas Christianis inducias gentilium cervicositates inflectere. Præfigitur tempus et forma subscribitur. Si Ricardo regi placeat, infra trium annorum, trium mensium, trium hebdomadarum, trium dierum et  
 35 trium horarum spatium, tales inter Christianos et gentiles serventur induciæ, ut quicquid quocunque modo pars una vel altera possidet, incon-

Truce granted by Saladin to the English.

A.D. 1192. cusse possideat usque ad terminum; Christianis liceret ad placitum interim infortiare Accaronem tantummodo, et gentilibus Hierosolymam. Omnis contractus, commercia, quilibet actus, omnia omnibus invicem communicentur in pace. Saffatinus 5 ipse, hujus decreti nuncius, destinatur ad Anglos.

Richard's  
recovery.

§ 94. Dum Ricardus rex ægrotabat apud Jafes, nunciatum est ei quod dux Burgundiæ apud Accaronem graviter ægrotaret. Dies ille fuerat regis criticus, et ex delectatione rumoribus febris ejus 10 soluta est. Elevatis autem continuo rex manibus imprecatus est, dicens, 'Deus destruat eum, quia noluit mecum inimicos fidei nostræ destruere, licet ad meos solidos jam pridem militaverit.' Die tertia dux defungitur; cujus casu cognito, 15 episcopus Belvacensis, relicto rege cum omnibus suis, Accaronem festinus advenit; convenerunt ad eum ex omnibus oppidis omnes Francigenæ usque ad unum comitem Campaniæ Henricum, Ricardi regis ex sorore nepotem. Factus autem 20 episcopus dux et minator eorum, edicto proposito, universos repatriare mandavit.

The French  
return home.

§ 95. Classis instruitur et gloriosus princeps, cum suis glabrionibus ab oriente recedens, Tyr- rhenum navigat æquor. Appulsus in latus Ale- 25 manniæ per totas dietas sui itineris disseminabat in populos quod traditor ille rex Angliæ, primo adventus sui in Judæam tempore, regem Francorum dominum suum Salahadino tradere disposuerat; quod, ut Tyro potiretur, marchisium ju- 30 gulari fecerat; quod ducem Burgundiæ veneno perdiderat; quod, ad ultimum, omnem Christianorum exercitum, qui sibi non parebat, in commune vendiderat. Hominem esse singulariter ferum, moribus ferreum et inamabilem, in dolis 35 doctum, in dissimulatione doctissimum. Horum gratia, regem Francorum tam celeriter repatri-

asse; horum gratia, Francos qui residerant in- A.D. 1192.  
conquisitam Hierosolimam deseruisse. Rumor  
vires ex diffusione recepit, et in unum hominem  
omnium hominum suscitavit invidiam.

5 § 96. Reversus in Franciam dominus Belva- Philip plots  
censis regis sui secreto susurravit in aurem, against Ri-  
quod rex Angliæ qui eum perderent sicarios in chard.  
Franciam destinaverat. Rex ad ista turbatus,  
contra patriæ consuetudinem, custodes corporis  
10 sui lectissimos ordinavit; addidit etiam mittere  
ad Imperatorem Alemanniæ nuncios cum mu-  
neribus, et imperatoriam majestatem in odium  
regis Angliæ sollicitus inclinavit. Ex imperiali  
igitur mandatur edicto, ut omnes civitates et  
15 omnes imperii principes regem Anglorum, si in  
partes suas de Judæa forte rediens devenisset,  
armis exciperent, et sibi vivum vel mortuum  
præsentarent. Si quis ei parceret, ut publicus  
hostis imperii plecteretur. Paruerunt omnes  
20 Imperatoris imperio; et magis sedulus ille dux  
Austriæ, quem rex Angliæ apud Accaronem ex-  
auctoraverat.

§ 97. Henricus comes Campaniæ, solus jam Richard pre-  
ex magnatibus Francorum in Judæa relictus, ad vented from  
25 regem Anglorum reversus est Jafeth; cui cum attacking Je-  
nunciasset et ducis Burgundiæ casum et fugam rusalem.  
Francigenarum, spem regis ita revixit, ut mox  
omnem cum sudore vitifero reciperet sospitatem.  
Viribus etiam corporis ex magnanimitate plus  
30 quam ex quiete vel cibo resumtis, mandavit per  
totam maritimam a Tyro usque ad Ascalonem,  
ut omnes qui poterant ad bella procedere ad regis  
expensas militare venirent. Convenit ad eum  
populus sine numero, ex quibus pars plurima pe-  
35 dites fuerunt; quibus, quia inutiles erant, repul-  
sis, recensuit equites, et vix invenit milites quin-  
genos, et scutarios, quorum domini perierant, duo

A.D. 1192. millia. Nec tamen pro paucitate diffusus mentes metuentium rethor optimus præmissa oratione refecit. Jubetur edici per cuneos ut in diem tertium acies ordinatæ sequantur regem, vel mori martyrio, vel viribus expugnare Hierosolymam. 5 Hæc erat ejus summa consilii, quia adhuc nihil de induciis noverat. Nemo enim, quod ex metu mortis ejus, ipso nesciente, præsumtum fuerat, ex insperato valenti ausus erat insinuare. Hubertus vero Walteri, episcopus Sarisburiensis, 10 communicato cum Henrico comite de induciis consilio, facilem habuit in optata consensum. Pariter igitur deliberantes qua possent arte sine sui periculo periculosum prælium præpedire, unam ex mille viderunt si populus dissuaderetur 15 ad pugnam. Et mira res accidit; ita cor pugnanturorum sine dissuasione defecit quod, die dicto cum rex suo more prævius præduxisset exercitum, non sunt inventi inter omnes milites et scutarios nisi nongenti. Ob quam defectionem 20 rex nimis irascens, imo vesaniens, et virgam pineam, quam manu gestabat, dentibus comminuens, indignantia tandem talibus ora resolvit.

His speech. 'Deus,' inquit, 'Deus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti! Cui nos stulti Christiani, cui nos 25 Angli, ab ultra orbis partes huc venimus arma portare? Nonne Deo Christianorum? Eia! quam bonus tuis es, qui jam pro tuo nomine trademur in manus gladii, partes vulpium erimus. O quam invitus ego te desererem in tam gravi 30 necessitatis articulo, si tibi essem quod tu mihi es, Dominus et advocatus! Certe, non mihi sed tibi deinceps mea signa jacebunt; certe, non propter ignaviam militiæ meæ tu ipse, rex meus et Deus meus, hodie victus es, non regulus tuus 35 iste Ricardus.'

§ 98. Dixerat, et consternatus nimium castra

repetiit; ad quem, ut jam competere videbatur, A.D. 1192. Hubertus episcopus et Henricus comes Campaniæ familiariter accedentes, ac si nihil fuerit præfatum, de transactione cum gentilibus necessario  
 5 faciendæ regis animum per integumenta sollicitaverunt. Et rex ad illos, 'Quia,' inquit, 'turbatæ mentis est præcipitare potius quam dictare sententiam,—ego, qui turbatus sum animo, vobis, quos quietæ mentis video, quod expedire videritis  
 10 pro bono pacis ordinare permitto.' Qui votorum compotes destinandos ad Saffatinum super his nuncios delegerunt, cum subito Saffatinus reversus de Hierosolymis nunciatur adesse; cui comes et episcopus occurrentes, et de induciis jam ab  
 15 eo certificati, eum qualiter cum domino suo rege loqueretur instituunt. Saffatinus in colloquium regis admissus, ut is cui fuerat ab antea familiaris, vix invaluit ut rex seipsum non perderet, ut in inducias consentiret. Tanta quippe viro fuit  
 20 vis in corpore, virtus in animo, fides in Christo, quod difficile tentari potuit quin, ut erat milite destitutus, contra mille gentiles lectissimos singulare sui corporis certamen exciperet. Qua quia non est permissus excurrere, hoc elegit diffugium, ut,  
 25 post septem septimanarum inducias, salvo fœdere pactionis, in suo penderet arbitrio utrum pugnare foret satius, an quiescere. Dantur a partibus dextræ de hac ultima transactione servanda fideliter; et Saffatinus, regio munere plus honoratus  
 30 quam oneratus, ad fratrem regreditur, de prætractatis cum redhibitione ad terminum reversurus.

§ 99. Ricardus rex Angliæ concilium habuit in Accarone, ibique regni illius reipublicæ prudenter providens Henricum comitem Campaniæ,  
 35 nepotem suum, cui prius Tyrum dederat, totius Terræ Promissionis ducem et dominum ordinavit. Regiam tantum consecrationem in forte futuram

He sanctions  
the truce  
with Saladin.

His arrange-  
ments before  
leaving Pa-  
lestine.



**A.D. 1192.** Hierosolymæ consecrationem censuit differendam.

Rex Ricardus repatriare deliberans, cum per ministerium ducis Henrici per universas suarum partium partas munitiones viros defensabiles disposuisset, solam Ascalonem, pro gentis penuria, 5 perpendit custode carituram et habitatore. Unde et præcavens, ne refieret gentilium receptaculum, dejici fecit castri munitiones et propugnacula. Septimæ septimanæ septimus dies advenerat, et ecce, Saffatino cum plurimis Admiralibus, qui 10 faciem viri videre gestierant, ad regem veniente, juramentis partium confirmantur induciæ; hoc ad prætaxationem addito, ut infra induciarum spatium Christianus vel Gentilis Ascalonem nullus inhabitaret, tota tamen agricultura ad urbem 15 pertinens fidelibus remaneret. Hubertus episcopus Sarisburiensis et Henricus dux Judææ cum manu multa ascenderunt in Hierosolymam adorare in loco, ubi steterant pedes Christi. Et erat ibi videre miseria, captivi confessores nominis 20 Christiani durum et diuturnum trahebant martyrium; per cuneos concatenati, pedes exulcerati, humeros excoriati, clunes stimulati, terga cæsi, ad inexpugnabilem faciendam contra Christianos Hierosolymam, ad manus latomorum et cementa- 25 riorum materiem comportabant. Reversi a locis sanctis dux et episcopus suaserunt regi, ut et ipse ascenderet, sed adquiescere non potuit digna magni cordis indignatio, ut quod de Dei dono non poterat, de gratia Gentilium consequeretur. 30

# INDEX.

## A.

**Acas**, condition of the Christians at the siege of, 19; Richard arrives there, 60; proceedings at the siege of, *ib.*; captured, 51; conditions of surrender, *ib.*; cruelties committed at its surrender, *ib.*; Philip departs homewards from, 54; fortified by the English, 74; visited by the Bishop of Beauvais, *ib.*  
**Africa**, the English fleet passes through the Straits of, 16.  
**Albini**, William de, Earl of Arundel, appointed to assist the Chancellor in the interview with Earl John, 33.  
**Alienor**, daughter of William, Duke of Aquitaine, Queen of England, 5, 7; interferes in favour of her son John, 15; her dowry, *ib.*; arrives in Sicily, 25; allusion to her conduct while wife of Louis VII. King of France, *ib.*; returns into England, 27, 28; arrives in England from France, 65; obtains the removal of the ecclesiastical suspension from the diocese of Ely, 66; prevents Earl John's departure into France, 57; attends a meeting at London, 58.  
**Alice**, sister of King Philip of France, Richard refuses to marry her, 26; the reasons assigned, *ib.*  
**'Andegavia'**, *see* Anjou.  
**'Andegavensis moneta'** (Money of Anjou,) 6.  
**Anjou**, Seneschal of, *see* Marzai.  
——, Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 65.  
**Ardenne**, Ralph de, son-in-law of Ralph de Glanville, 8.  
**Arundel**, Earl of, *see* Albini.  
**Ascalon**, dismantled by Richard, 78.  
**Auch**, Archbishop of, *see* Barta, Gerald de.  
**Austria**, Duke of, *see* Leopold V.

**'Auxiensis archiepiscopus'**, *see* Auch, Archbishop of.

## B.

**'Bairnocensis (?) episcopus'**, *see* Les-carre, Bernard de.  
**Baldwin**, Archbishop of Canterbury, crowns Richard, 5; consecrates the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, 9, 11; goes to Sicily, and thence to the Holy Land, 16; sent into Palestine, 19; dies there, *ib.*, 29; the Prior of Canterbury, appointed by him, rejected by the Convent, 27.  
**Baldwin IX**, Earl of Flanders, negotiates with Philip concerning the marriage of his sister with Richard, 26.  
——, Bishop of Worcester, 13.  
**Banniere**, (Bagnara, in Calabria,) taken by Richard, 19.  
**Bar**, Reginald de, (surnamed de Maçon,) Bishop of Chartres, one of the ambassadors to Richard I, 22.  
**Bardulf**, Hugh, fined for withdrawing from the Crusade, 8; appointed Councillor by Richard, 41.  
**Barta**, Gerald de, Archbishop of Auch, one of the embassy from Tancred to Richard, 22.  
**Bartholomew**, Archbishop of Tours, consecrates Geoffrey Plantagenet Archbishop of York, 34.  
**Bat** seen to fly at noonday about the King's throne, 6.  
**Bath**, bishoprick of, arrangements respecting it, made by Reginald Fitz-Josceline upon being promoted to Canterbury, 45.  
——, Bishop of, *see* Fitz-Josceline, Reginald.  
——, Walter Prior of, becomes a Carthusian, 26.  
——, description of the city of, 62.

- Beauvais, Bishop of, *see* Dreux, Philip de.  
 Becket, Thomas, 61.  
 Berengaria, daughter of Sancho VI, King of Navarre, arrives in Sicily, 26; intrusted by Richard to the custody of his sister, 28; sails with him from Sicily, *ib.*; accompanies him to the Holy Land, 46; married to him, 49.  
 Biset, Henry, induces the Chancellor to go to London, 37.  
 'Biturica,' *see* Bourges.  
 Bourges, Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 56.  
 Bretagne, Duke of, *see* Geoffrey.  
 Bristol, description of, 62.  
 'Britannia Minor,' *see* Bretagne.  
 Briwere, William, fined for withdrawing from the Crusade, 8; appointed Councillor by Richard, 41.  
 Brunus, Hugo, slain by the Sicilians, 23.  
 Burgundy, Duke of, *see* Hugo.
- C.
- Calabria, Richard's expedition into, from Sicily, 19.  
 Camville, Girard de, besieged in the castle of Lincoln, 30; the custody of Lincoln castle reserved to him, 33.  
 ———, Nicholaa, wife of Girard de, 30.  
 Canons, difference between them and Monks, 65.  
 Canterbury, description of, 61; consecration of the Bishop of Worcester at, 27; meeting of the clergy there, 45.  
 ———, Archbishop of, *see* Baldwin.  
 ———, Convent of, deposes the Prior and elects another, 27; receives instructions from Richard respecting the appointment of an archbishop, 29.  
 Carracois, one of the Saracen governors of Acres, 51; at its capture, falls to the share of King Philip, 52.  
 Carthusians, order of, *see* Witham.  
 Carus, Archbishop of Montreal, (in Sicily,) one of the ambassadors to Richard, 22.  
 'Caudati,' the English so termed in derision, 20, *see* Note.  
 Celestine III, Pope, grants Legatine authority to the Bishop of Ely, 14.  
 'Cenomania,' *see* Mans, Le.  
 Champagne, Henry II, Count of, nephew to King Richard, despatched into Palestine from Sicily, 19; ungenerously treated by the King of France, 50; Richard's liberal conduct towards, *ib.*; visits Richard at Acres, 74; visits Richard at Jaffa, 75; procures the ratification of the truce between Richard and Saladin, 76, 77; receives Tyre, and the management of Palestine, from Richard, 77; visits Jerusalem, 78; styled Duke of Judæa, *ib.*  
 Chancellor of England, *see* Longchamp, William, Bishop of Ely.  
 Chartres, Bishop of, *see* Bar, Reginald de.  
 Chartreuse, the cell of, its discipline, 1.  
 Chester, description of, 62.  
 ———, Bishop of, *see* Coventry, Bishop of.  
 Chichester, description of, 61.  
 Cierret, Guarin de, Bishop of Evreux, one of the ambassadors to Richard from Tancred, 22.  
 'Ciltucumba, villanagium de,' 55.  
 Clare, Richard Earl of, appointed to assist the Chancellor in his interview with Earl John, 33.  
 Cluni, monks of the order of, 16.  
 Conrad, Marquess of Montferrat, obtains possession of Tyre, 52; purchases the prisoners of the King of France, *ib.*; opposed by Richard, 53; returns to Tyre, *ib.*; Richard accused of having procured his assassination, 74.  
 Cornwall, character of its inhabitants, 62.  
 Council held at Westminster, by William de Longo Campo, Bishop of Ely, Papal Legate, 14.  
 Courtenay, Peter de, Count of Auxerre and Nevers, one of the embassy from Richard to Tancred, 22.  
 Coutances, Walter de, Archbishop of Rouen, one of the embassy to Richard from Tancred, 22; returns from Sicily into England, 27; the powers with which he was invested by the King, *ib.*; arrives in

England, 28; promotes the disagreement between the Chancellor and Earl John, 29; employed to communicate between the Earl and the Chancellor, 31; the duplicity of his conduct, *ib.*; excommunicates the Bishop of Ely, 43; appointed Chief Justiciary of England, 45; summons a meeting of the clergy at Canterbury, *ib.*; absolves the Chancellor from the sentence of excommunication, 56; summons a meeting at London, 57.  
 Coventry, Bishop of, *see* Nonante, Hugh de.

—, the Monks of, impleaded by the Bishop of Coventry, 9; persecuted by him, 64; expelled from Coventry, and Clerks introduced, 14.  
 Cross, the Holy, claimed by the captors of Acres, 51; not given up by the Saracens, 52.

Cyprus, the English fleet wrecked near, 46; cruel treatment of the English by the inhabitants of, *ib.*; punished by Richard, *ib.*, 47, 48, 49; Richard's marriage with Berengaria celebrated there, 49; its capture, 72.

## D.

Dokemeresfeld, Reginald Fitz-Josceline, Archbishop of Canterbury, dies there, 45.

Dover, Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, seized in the priory there, 35.

—, castle of, the ex-Chancellor proceeds thither, 42.

Dragon, the figure of, upon the English standards, 24.

Dreux, Philip de, Bishop of Beauvais, one of those to whose care the French army in Palestine is intrusted by Philip, 54; hastens to Acres, 74; directs that the French army return home, *ib.*; disseminates false accusations against Richard, *ib.*, 75.

Durham, description of, 62.

—, Bishop of, *see* Pusac.

'Ebroicensis episcopus,' *see* Evreux, Bishop of.

## E.

Eclipse of the sun (1191), 29.

Ely, description of the city of, 62.

—, diocese of, suspended by its

bishop, 42; effects of the suspension, 43; freed from the ecclesiastical suspension pronounced by its bishop, 56.

Ely, Bishop of, *see* Longchamp, William de.

Evreux, Bishop of, *see* Cierret, Guarin de.

Exchequer, the Barons of, 12.

—, 'Custodes' of, new ones appointed, 39.

Excommunication, effect of, 43.

Exeter, description of the city of, 62.

—, Bishop of, *see* John.

## F.

'Far, flumen del,' (Faro di Messina,) 19.

Fitz-Josceline, Reginald, Bishop of Bath, obtains the Papal Legatine office for the Bishop of Ely, 14; letters to him from Savaricus, Archdeacon of Northampton, 28; concerned in the meeting between the Chancellor and Earl John, 33; elected Archbishop of Canterbury, 45; his arrangements respecting the bishopric of Bath, *ib.*; his illness, death, and epitaph, *ib.*, 46.

Fitz-Neale, Richard, the Treasurer, consecrated Bishop of London, 9; consecrated at London, 12; concerned in the meeting between the Chancellor and the Earl John, 33; bestows the benediction and pastoral staff upon the Abbot of Westminster, 44; absent from the meeting of the clergy at Canterbury, 45.

Fitz-Peter, Geoffrey, fined for withdrawing from the Crusade, 8; appointed Councillor by Richard, 41.

Fitz-Ralph, Robert, son of William, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, 27.

—, William, Seneschal of Normandy, causes Normandy to be suspended, 43; is excommunicated, 44.

Fitz-Walter, Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, *see* Walter, Hubert.

Flanders, Earl of, *see* Baldwin.

—, William de Longchamp, the ex-Chancellor, driven thither, 42.

Fleet, the English, description of it, 17.

Flemings, character of, in the estimation of the French, 62.  
 Fortibus, William de, marries the widow of William de Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle, 11.  
 Fossa Nova, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of, *see* Jordan.

## G.

Gascony, certain robbers there, punished by Richard, 12.  
 ———, Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 55.  
 Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, *see* Plantagenet.  
 Geoffrey II, Duke of Bretagne, son of Henry II, King of England, 71.  
 Germany, Emperor of, *see* Henry VI.  
 Gisorz, quit-claimed by Richard in favour of Philip, 26; the Papal Legates refused entrance there, 43.  
 Glanville, Ralph de, fined, 7; the reason for this severity, *ib.*; deprived of his office by Richard, 8; despatched into Palestine, 19; dies there, *ib.*  
 Glastonbury, a monk of, bribes Earl John, 17.  
 Gloucester, castle of, besieged by the Chancellor, 13.  
 'Griffones,' their opinion of Richard of England and Philip of France, 18; overcome by Richard, 19; their conduct towards the English, 20; murder Hugo Brunus, 23.  
 Greek Sea, 15.

## H.

'Hamonis Portus,' *see* Southampton.  
 Henry II, King of England, 5; proposes that Richard should marry Alice, sister of King Philip Augustus, 26; his children, 70, 71.  
 Henry, second son of Henry II, (called King Henry III,) 5, 71.  
 Henry VI, Emperor of Germany, prejudiced against Richard, 75.  
 Hereford, description of, 62.  
 ———, Robert, Prior of, *see* Robert.  
 Hugo III, Duke of Burgundy, ambassador to Richard, 22; one of those to whose care the French army in Palestine is intrusted by Philip, 54; his death at Acres, 74; said to have been poisoned by Richard, *ib.*

## I.

Isaac, King of Cyprus, his conduct towards the English when wrecked off that island, 47; his submission to Richard, and subsequent treachery, *ib.*; his punishment, 49.

## J.

Jaffa, Richard attacked by illness there, 74.  
 Jerusalem, King of, *see* Leziniac.  
 ———, the King of France sails for, 26; its assault proposed by Richard, 54; events connected with it, 72, 73, 74; visited by the Earl of Champagne, 78; Richard refuses to visit it, *ib.*; miserable condition of the Christian prisoners there, *ib.*  
 Jews, massacred at the coronation of Richard, 5; story of a boy slain by the, 59, 60, 61, etc.  
 Johanna, sister of Richard, widow of William II, King of Sicily, harshly treated by Tancred, 18, 19; finds an asylum in a castle called 'Monasterium Griffonum,' 19; accompanies Richard into the Holy Land, 28, 46.  
 John, Bishop of Exeter, his death, 28.  
 ———, Earl of Mortain, fifth son of Henry II, largely endowed by his brother, Richard, 7; swears that he will not enter England for three years, 15; obtains leave to enter, *ib.*; receives bribes, 17; his dealings with the Chancellor, 26; directed by Richard to adhere to the Chancellor, 29; plots for his own aggrandizement, *ib.*; his message to the Chancellor, 30; its effect, 31; an interview agreed upon between him and the Chancellor, *ib.*; his speech, *ib.*; his arrangements, 32, 33; names of those appointed to aid him, *ib.*; surrenders certain castles to the Chancellor, *ib.*; summons a meeting against the Chancellor, 37; pursues him to London, 38; appointed Chief Governor of England, *ib.*; the Chancellor surrenders to him, 40; attends a meeting at London, 58; accomplishes the disgrace of the Chancellor, *ib.*, 59; neglects Richard when in Palestine, 68.  
 Jordan, Abbot of Fossa Nova, Papal

Legate, suspends Normandy, 43 ; forbidden to enter Normandy, 45.  
 Joceline, Prior of the Cluniac monastery of Montacute, 16.  
 Judas, Duke of, Henry Earl of Champagne so styled, 78.  
 Justices, Itinerant, new ones appointed in England, 39.  
 Justiciary, Chief, of England, a new one appointed, 39.

## L.

Lafrancus, Ubaldo, Archbishop of Pisa, one of the embassy from Tancred to Richard, 22.  
 Legate, Papal, (in England,) *see* Longchamp, William de, Bishop of Ely.  
 Legates, Papal, (in Normandy,) *see* Jordan. Octavian.  
 Leopold V, Duke of Austria, insulted by Richard, 52 ; leaves the Holy Land, *ib.* ; is anxious to capture Richard upon his return from Palestine, 75.  
 Lescarre, Bernard de, Bishop of Bayonne, one of the embassy from Tancred to Richard, 23.  
 Leziniac, Guy de, King of Jerusalem, requests aid from the Kings of England and France, 19 ; arrives in Cyprus, and there assists Richard against Isaac, 48, 49 ; his claims supported by Richard, 53.  
 Lincoln, description of the city of, 62 ; the Chancellor advances towards, 12.  
 ———, castle of, besieged by the Chancellor, 30 ; the custody of, reserved to Girard de Camville, 33.  
 Lodbridge, meeting there, 37.  
 London, character and description of, 60, 61 ; massacre of the Jews in, at the coronation of Richard, 5 ; Richard declares his willingness to sell it, 10 ; the Chancellor arrives there, 37 ; fortifies himself in the Tower, 38 ; meeting in St. Paul's Church, *ib.* ; the Tower besieged, 39 ; meeting near, between the Chancellor and Earl John, 40 ; the Tower surrendered, 42 ; meeting of the 'Communia' of, 63 ; character of their proceedings, 54 ; meeting held there, relative to Earl John's intended journey into France, 57.

London, Bishop of, *see* Fitz-Neale, Richard.

Longchamp, William de, (Chancellor and Justiciary of England, and Papal Legate,) Chancellor to the King when Count of Poitiers, 6 ; consecrated Bishop of Ely, 9 ; intrusted with the whole custody of the kingdom during Richard's absence, 11 ; besieges the castle of Gloucester, 13 ; appointed Papal Legate, 14 ; as such, holds a council at Westminster, *ib.* ; his treatment of the Abbot of Malmesbury, 14, 15 ; invested with authority over John Earl of Mortain, 15 ; his transactions with Earl John, 26 ; commanded to act in conjunction with the Archbishop of Rouen, 27 ; his behaviour towards the Archbishop of Rouen, 28 ; his great authority, 29 ; supported by the Archbishop of Rouen, *ib.* ; besieges the castle of Lincoln, 30 ; receives a message from Earl John, *ib.* ; his answer, 31 ; interview agreed upon between him and Earl John, *ib.* ; returns to London, 32 ; his arrangements for the interview, *ib.* ; names of those who aided him, 33 ; certain castles surrendered to him, *ib.* ; his dealings with the monks of Westminster, 34 ; denies having caused the apprehension of the Archbishop of York, 36 ; comes to London, 37 ; his reception, 38 ; fortifies himself in the Tower, *ib.* ; a meeting of his enemies, *ib.* ; three castles reserved to his use, 39 ; result of the meeting communicated to him, *ib.* ; his speech upon the occasion, *ib.* ; compelled to surrender, 40 ; meeting between him and the Earl, *ib.* ; addressed by the Bishop of Coventry, *ib.* ; his reply, 41 ; gives his brothers as hostages, 42 ; departs towards Dover, *ib.* ; circumstances attending his departure for Flanders, *ib.* ; suspends the diocese of Ely, and excommunicates his antagonists, *ib.* ; complains to the King of France, but unsuccessfully, 55 ; absolved from his excommunication, 56 ; takes part in a meeting at London, 57 ; reappointed Legate, 58 ; his conduct blamed by Earl John, *ib.* ; fined, *ib.*, 59 ; his reflections upon the occasion, *ib.*

———, Henry de, monk of

- Caen, brother to the Bishop of Ely, appointed Abbot of Westminster, 34; afterwards rejected by the monks of Westminster, 44.
- Luci, Godfrey, son of Richard de, consecrated Bishop of Winchester, 9; obtains from Richard the custody of Hampshire, and of the castles of Winchester and Porchester, 10; deprived of them by the Chancellor Longchamp, 11; remains abroad, 12; returns home, 13; his interview with the Chancellor, *ib.*; concerned in the meeting between the Chancellor and Earl John, 33; certain custodies granted to him, 39; absent from the meeting of the clergy at Canterbury, 45; repays the money which he had borrowed from the church of Winchester, 54.
- Lusignan, Guy de, *see* Leziniac.
- M.
- 'Magna Villa, Willelmus de,' *see* Mandeville.
- Malmesbury, monastery of, 14.
- , Abbot of, *see* Melun.
- Mandeville, William de, Earl of Albarnele, his death, 11.
- Mans, Le, Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 55.
- 'Margaritus Admiralis,' 22.
- Marriage not celebrated during Lent, 49.
- Marseilles, Richard's fleet awaits his arrival there, 15.
- Marzai, Stephen de, Seneschal of Anjou, fined, 6; the reason wherefore, 7.
- 'Mategriffun,' a wooden fortress so named, erected by Richard near Messina, 25; erected at the siege of Acres, 51.
- Mediterranean Sea, 15.
- Melun, Robert de, Abbot of Malmesbury, transactions between him and the Chancellor of England, 14, 15.
- Meones, manor of, recovered to the see of Winchester, 10.
- Messina, Richard arrives there, 17; stormed by him, 21, 22, 23, 24; captured, 24.
- Mestocus, one of the Saracen governors of Acres, 51; at its capture, falls to the share of Richard, 52; saved by him from decapitation, *ib.*
- Michelney, *see* Muchelney.
- Montacute, monastery of the Cluniac order in Somersetshire, 16.
- Monte Ferrato, de, *see* Montferrat.
- Montferrat, Marquess of, *see* Conrad.
- Montreal, Archbishop of, *see* Carus.
- Morstede, land there, belonging to the convent of Winchester, 55.
- Mortimer, *see* Mortuo Mari.
- Mortuo Mari, Roger de, surrenders the castle of Wigmore to the Chancellor, 30.
- Muchelney, Robert, Abbot of, his death, 34.
- , monks of, eject their newly-elected abbot, 44.
- N.
- Navarre, son of the King of, *see* Sancho.
- Nevers, Earl of, *see* Courtenay, Peter de.
- Nonante, Hugo de, Bishop of Coventry, impleads the monks of Coventry, 9; makes a speech against the Chancellor, 38; his speech to the Chancellor, 40.
- Norhall, William de, Bishop of Worcester, his death, 13.
- Normandy, Richard arrives there, 11; its privileges, 43; suspended, 44; suspension removed, *ib.*; the Bishop of Ely declared excommunicated throughout, 43; Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 55.
- , Seneschal of, *see* Fitz-Ralph.
- Normans kill a French provost, who had built a castle near their boundaries, 55.
- Northampton, Archdeacon of, *see* Savaricus.
- Northumberland, Hugo de Pusac (or Pudsey), Bishop of Durham, created Earl of, 8.
- , county of, granted to the Bishop of Durham, 39.
- Norwich, John, Bishop of, robbed in Burgundy on his way to the Crusade, and consequently absolved by the Pope from his vow, 12.
- , description of, 62.
- Nottingham, castle of, seized by John, 30; intrusted to William de Weneval, (?) 33.

## O.

- Octavian, Bishop of Ostia, Papal Legate, suspends Normandy, 43.  
 Ostia, Bishop of, *see* Octavian.  
 Oxford, description of, 61; meeting held there relative to Earl John's intended journey into France, 57.

## P.

- Palestine, the custody of, granted by Richard to his nephew, the Earl of Champagne, 77.  
 Pentecoste, a citizen of Winchester, 55.  
 Perch, Rotrou III, Count of, one of the embassy to Richard from Tancred, 22.  
 Philip Augustus, King of France, his interviews with Richard, 15; his route to Sicily, 16; arrives at Messina, 18; his conduct there, *ib.*; styled 'Agnus' by the Greeks, *ib.*; receives a message from Jerusalem, 19; his speech to the English when about to storm Messina, 23; sails for Jerusalem, 26; aids in the assault of Acres, 51; his conditions for the surrender of Acres, *ib.*; his share of the spoil, 52; sells his prisoners to the Marquess of Montferrat, *ib.*; his arrangements opposed by Richard, 53; recalled home by letters said to have been forged, *ib.*; swears not to molest Richard's possessions during his absence, *ib.*; leaves Acres, 54; prepares for hostilities with Richard, 55; believes false charges against Richard, 75; appoints a body-guard, *ib.*  
 'Pictavia,' *see* Poitou.  
 Pin, Jordan de, one of the embassy from Tancred to Richard, 22.  
 Pippewelle, certain bishops elected at, 9.  
 Pisa, Archbishop of, *see* Lanfrancus, Ubald.  
 Plantagenet, Geoffrey, natural son of King Henry II, Archbishop of York, swears not to enter England during three years, 15; consecrated by the Archbishop of Tours, 34; prepares to visit England, *ib.*; arrives at Dover, 35; seized by the soldiers of the Chancellor, *ib.*, 36.  
 Poitou, Constables of the English in,

anticipate an attack from the French, 55.

'Pons Ludani,' *see* Lodbridge.

Porchester Castle, custody of, obtained from Richard by Geoffrey, Bishop of Winchester, 10; who is deprived of it by the Chancellor Longchamp, *ib.*

Portsmue, Queen Alienor arrives there, 55.

'Portus Hamonis,' *see* Southampton.

Postard, William, *see* Westminster.

Pudsey, Hugo de, Bishop of Durham, *see* Pusac.

Pusac, (or Pudsey,) Hugo de, Bishop of Durham, created Chief Justice of England and Earl of Northumberland, 8; expelled from the Exchequer, and deprived of his earldom by the Chancellor, 11; his proceedings with the Chancellor, 12, 13; county of Northumberland regranted to him, 39.

## R.

Reginald, Bishop of Bath, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, *see* Fitz-Josceline.

'Reginaldus Italus' offers four thousand pounds of silver to Richard for the chancellorship, 9.

'Ricardus Thesaurarius,' *see* Fitz-Neale, Richard.

Richard I, King of England, crowned at Westminster, 5; omens at his coronation, 6; makes preparations for the Crusade, 7; his modes of obtaining money towards the Crusades, 8; obtains ten thousand pounds of silver from Hugo de Pusac, Bishop of Durham, *ib.*; takes security from the chieftains of Wales and Scotland, that they shall not pass the borders in his absence at the Crusade, 9; sells all he can in order to raise money for the Crusade, 10; sails for Normandy, 11; suppresses the robbers in Gascony, 12; his interview with Philip at Tours and Vezelay, 15; causes his brothers to swear that they will not enter England during three years, *ib.*; his fleet's route from England to Marseilles, *ib.*; follows it thither, 16; description of its equipment, 17; arrives at Messina, *ib.*; his conduct contrasted



with that of Philip, 18; styled 'Leo' by the Greeks, *ib.*; insulted by Tancred, *ib.*, 19; receives a message from Jerusalem, *ib.*; his indignation at the conduct of the Sicilians, 20; his speech upon that occasion, *ib.*; resolves to storm Messina, 21; receives an embassy, 23; suspends operations, *ib.*; resumes hostilities, *ib.*; captures Messina, 24; fines Tancred, 25; raises a wooden fortress named 'Mategriffun,' *ib.*; refuses to marry the sister of Philip, 26; sails for Jerusalem, *ib.*; his equipment and warlike stores, 27; receives a fine from the Archbishop of Rouen, *ib.*; sails from Sicily, 28; enumeration of his fleet, *ib.*; informed of the transactions between the Earl and the Chancellor, 42; description of his fleet, 46; his ships plundered by the Cypriotes, 47; his revenge, *ib.*, 48, 49; marries Berengaria in Cyprus, 49; captures a large Saracen ship, *ib.*; arrives at Acres, 50; his liberality towards Henry, Earl of Champagne, *ib.*; his conduct at the siege of Acres, *ib.*; his share in the spoil, 52; gives offence to the Duke of Austria, *ib.*; beheads his prisoners because the Holy Cross is withheld, *ib.*; his message on the occasion to Saladin, *ib.*; opposes the claims of the Marquess of Montferrat, 53; the French do not co-operate with him, 54; he acts without their assistance, *ib.*; his proceedings in Palestine, 67; miserable condition of his army, 68; attacked by illness, 69; his praises celebrated by Saphadin, *ib.*; his satisfaction at the death of the Duke of Burgundy, 74; accused of many crimes by the Bishop of Beauvais, *ib.*, 75; his recovery, *ib.*; prepares to storm Jerusalem, *ib.*; prevented by the reduced state of his army, *ib.*; ratifies the truce with Saladin, 76, 77; his arrangements before leaving Palestine, 77; grants Tyre and the custody of the Holy Land to the Earl of Champagne, 78.

Richard, Archbishop of Messina, his embassy to Richard, 22.

—— of Devizes dedicates his work

to Robert, formerly Prior of Winchester, 1.

Ridel, Stephen, chancellor to Earl John, appointed to aid him in his interview with the Chancellor, 33.

Risa, Archbishop of, *see* Pisa (for which this is an error of the scribe).

Robert, Prior of Hereford and Abbot of Muchelney, his death, 34.

——, formerly Prior of Winchester, to whom Richard of Devizes dedicates his work, 1; becomes a Carthusian at Witham, 26.

——, Bishop of Worcester, *see* Fitz-Ralph.

Rochester, description of, 61.

'Rotomagensis archiepiscopus,' *see* Rouen, Archbishop of.

Rouen, Archbishop of, *see* Coutances, Walter de.

## S.

Salahadinus, 51; message to him from Richard, 52; truce between him and the English, 73.

Salisbury, Hubert Walter, Bishop of, *see* Walter, Hubert.

Sancho, son of Sancho VI, King of Navarre, ravages Toulouse, 56.

Saphadin, brother of Saladin, Soldan of Damascus, visits Richard, 69; discovers his illness, *ib.*; his speech upon the occasion, *ib.*; procures a truce with the English, 73; visits Richard upon its ratification, 77.

Savaricus, Archdeacon of Northampton, obtains letters from Richard, 28; their import, *ib.*; proceeds to Rome, *ib.*; arrangements for his promotion to the bishoprick of Bath, 45, 46.

Scotland, chieftains of, give security to Richard not to pass the borders during his absence at the Crusade, 9.

Scots, their character, 62.

Sicily, Richard's proceedings there, *see* Messina, Tancred.

Southampton, custody of, obtained from Richard by Geoffrey, Bishop of Winchester, 10; who is deprived of it by the Chancellor Longchamp, *ib.*; Earl John about to embark there, 56.

Standards, English, bear the figure of a dragon, 24.

Suspension, ecclesiastical, effects of, 42, 43, 56.

## T.

- Tancred, King of Sicily, entertains the King of France, 18; insults Richard, *ib.*; his submission to Richard upon the capture of Messina, 24, 25.
- Tickhill, Bishop of Durham seized there by the Chancellor, 13.
- , castle of, seized by Earl John, 30; the custody of the castle of, intrusted to Reginald de Wasseville, 33.
- Toulouse, the province of, ravaged by Sancho, son of the King of Navarre, 55.
- Tours, Archbishop of, *see* Bartholomew.
- meeting between Richard and Philip there, 15; Richard's departure from, *ib.*; Constables of the English in, anticipate an attack from the French, 55.
- Truce between Saladin and the English, 73; ratified by Richard, 76, 78.
- 'Turonensis archiepiscopus,' *see* Tours.
- 'Turonis,' *see* Tours.
- Turonia, Stephen de, *see* Marzai.
- Tyre, occupied by Conrad, Marquess of Montferrat, 52; granted by Richard to Henry, Earl of Champagne, 77.

## V.

- 'Vasconia,' *see* Gascony.
- Venneval, William de, appointed to aid Earl John in his interview with the Chancellor, 33; *see* Wenneval.
- Ver, Henry de, Chastellan of Gisorz, excommunicated by the Papal Legates, 44.
- Vezelay, Richard and Philip meet there, 15.
- 'Viceliacum,' *see* Vezelay.
- Vogesin quit-claimed by Richard in favour of Philip, 26.

## W.

- Wales, chieftains of, give security to Richard not to pass the borders in his absence at the Crusade, 8.
- Wallingford, Earl John resides there, 58.
- Walter, Prior of Bath, becomes a Carthusian, 26; attends Reginald Fitz-Joceline, Archbishop of Canterbury, at his death, 45; elects Savaricus, Archdeacon of Northampton, to the see of Bath, 46.
- Walter, Prior of St. Swithin at Winchester, afterwards Abbot of Westminster, his death, 25.
- , Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, consecrated by Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, 9; proceeds to Sicily, and thence to the Holy Land, 16; despatched into Palestine, 19; his proceedings in Palestine during Richard's illness, 69; agrees to a truce with the Saracens, 73; procures Richard's consent to the truce, 76, 77; visits Jerusalem, 78.
- Warren, Reginald de, appointed to assist the Chancellor in the interview with Earl John, 33.
- Wasseville, Reginald de, the custody of the castle of Tickhill intrusted to him, 33; appointed to assist Earl John in his interview with the Chancellor, *ib.*
- Welch, accused of conspiring against Richard, 30; their character, 62.
- troops employed by the English, 32.
- Wenneval, (?) William, the custody of the castle of Nottingham intrusted to him, 33; *see* Venneval.
- Weregrava, the manor of, recovered to the see of Winchester, 10.
- Westminster, Richard crowned at, 5; portentous event there, 6; bishops consecrated there, 11; council held at, 14.
- , monks of, their affairs, 34; elect a new abbot, 44.
- , the abbey of, intrusted to the management of the Chancellor, 29.
- , Walter, abbot of, his death, 25.
- , William Postard, Abbot of, elected by the monks and confirmed by the Bishop of London, 44.
- Wigmore attacked by the Chancellor, 20.
- William, King of Sicily, his legacy to Henry II, 18.
- Winchester, church of, 1.
- , the Jews there spared, 5, 6; Stephen de Marzai carried thither in chains, 6; meeting there, between Earl John and the Chan-

- cellor, 26, 32; meeting held there, relative to Earl John's intended journey into France, 57; story of a boy slain by the Jews there, 59; description of, 62; money borrowed from the church of, repaid by the bishop, 54; the feast of the Purification celebrated there, 55.
- Winchester Castle, custody of, obtained from Richard by Geoffrey, Bishop of Winchester, 10; who is deprived of it by the Chancellor Longchamp, 11.
- , Robert, formerly Prior of, 1.
- , St. Swithin's, Robert, Prior of, becomes a Carthusian at
- Witham, 26; Walter, Prior of, afterwards Abbot of Westminster, 25.
- 'Windelesora,' *see* Windsor.
- Windsor, meeting held there, relative to Earl John's intended journey into France, 57.
- Witham, the Carthusian establishment at, 26.
- Worcester, Bishops of, *see* Baldwin Fitz-Ralph. Norhall.
- , description of, 62.
- Y.
- York, description of, 62.
- , Archbishop of, *see* Plantagenet, Geoffrey.

## ERRATUM.

P. 14, l. 24, *read* Pyracmon,

## THE END.

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## RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER.

IN the year 1757, Mr. Bertram, an Englishman then in the service of the King of Denmark, published at Copenhagen, in a duodecimo volume, along with Gildas and Nennius, a short historical treatise on Great Britain, ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, who was a monk of Westminster. As the date at which Richard is supposed to have lived would, in the order of time, require his work to appear immediately after Gildas, Nennius, and Bede, the Council of the English Historical Society think it right to explain to the Members the grounds upon which they have abstained, at least for the present, from presenting them with this treatise of Richard as a genuine work.

It would appear from Stukeley's account of the work, printed at London in 1757, that the publication took place in the following manner. In June 1747 a letter was received by Stukeley from Charles Julius Bertram, professor of the English language in the Royal Marine Academy at Copenhagen. The letter seems to have been written the year before, but Mr. Bertram till then hesitated about transmitting it.

This letter led to a correspondence between Stukeley and Bertram; and Stukeley says that in its progress "Mr. Bertram mentioned a manuscript, in a friend's hands, of Richard of Westminster, being a history of Roman Britain, which he thought a great curiosity, and an ancient map of the island annexed."

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Stukeley says, " I then began to think of the  
" manuscript, and desired some little extract from it ;  
" then an imitation of the handwriting, which I showed  
" to my late friend Mr. Casley, keeper in the Cotton  
" Library, who immediately pronounced it to be four  
" hundred years old."—pp. 12 and 13.

Stukeley adds, " I pressed Mr. Bertram to get the  
" manuscript into his hands if possible, which at length  
" with some difficulty he effected ; and on my sollicita-  
" tion sent to me in letters a transcript of the whole,  
" and at last a copy of a map, he having an excellent  
" hand in drawing."

This is all which Stukeley, according to his own  
account, ever knew of the alleged manuscript. The  
account which Bertram gives of the manuscript in  
p. 2 of his preface to the printed work, is as follows :  
" Ordine inter eos primus est Ricardus, qui, licet ipsius  
" opusculum, quod inter curiosa alia bene multa miro  
" modo mihi in manus venit, non in omnibus suis abso-  
" lutum sit numeris, non tamen ad infimam historiarum  
" mediæ ætatis classem est referendus."

In the work itself the two following passages  
occur :

" Ex fragmentis quibusdam à Duce quodam Ro-  
" mano consignatis et posteritati relictis, sequens col-  
" lectum est itinerarium, ex Ptolemæo et aliunde non-  
" nullis, ordinem quoque (sed, quod spero, in melius)  
" mutatum hinc inde deprehendes."—p. 35.

" Veritatem, quoad fieri licuit, sectatus fui. Si quid  
" occurrat forte, illi non exactè congruum, illud mihi ne  
" imputetur vitiove vertatur rogo. Me enim ad re-  
" gulas legesque historiæ sollicitè componens, ea bona

